

[P. 21b] Tachi

302 could paint his face any way he liked if he did not want to follow a totemic pattern. After ceremonial washing a man's face was covered with red paint; sometimes a little white paint was put on a woman.

The following information is from Mr. E.W. Gifford, who kindly put his data on Tachi moieties at my disposal.

302 The Tachi employed moiety face paints. The
616 toxelyuwic painted a "pink" stripe of wild rose-
bush powder⁴⁸ from the edge of the hair on the
[824] forehead down to the tip of the nose, and a
horizontal stripe under each eye. A small
black spot was added under each horizontal
stripe of pink.

The nutuwuts moiety painted the right side of the face solid white, the left solid black. No spots were added.

[613] It seems probable that the informant who gave these data described patterns characteristic of some animal (lineage totem) associated with each moiety. There is no suggestion of specific moiety patterns from any informants of moiety-divided tribes. The lineage is the essential unit; but if forced to characterize moieties, an informant will choose some important animal (lineage totem) of each, most frequently Coyote and Eagle. Without further detail being given, it would appear that all persons of one moiety or the other had these animals as totems. I believe it is thus with the two paint patterns described to Gifford: that the informant oversimplified.

Money Manufacture

436 The shells for money were obtained whole
321 from the Tokya (Chumash, Salinan, or other
[439] coastal people to the west). By laying them on a rock and giving them a sharp blow with a stone held in the hand, they were broken up into several parts, which were again cracked into smaller pieces by the same method. Each piece was given a circular shape by rubbing down its edge on a large, flat, hard rock. The discs were then drilled by means of a drill [412] (wa lai) of bone which was imbedded in the end of a button willow stick. The palm of the left hand⁴⁹ gummed with fish glue, rolled the drill [237] on the left thigh while the right hand pressed the disc against the rotating tip.

⁴⁸Concerning the possible derivation of this powder Professor W.L. Gardner, of the University of California, writes me (Gifford): "There is a fungus growing on certain species of roses which causes distortions in the branches of the rose, such distortions being filled with masses of orange colored spores. It is barely possible that these might make a temporary pigment."

⁴⁹Practices with the left and right hands are uncertain with this informant, who is herself left-handed.

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30 were many songs connected with this practice,
22 but J.A. could not recall them: one song ran,
"Now I am making a crown (se'ma) of flowers."³²
And there was an expression, "to go flowering."
Old men who could not wander out in the fields
would ask children to make crowns for them too.
There was no ceremonial significance to this
activity, which was probably more widespread
than one might expect, as there are hints of it
[17] from other recorders. The Miwok wore flowers,
"particularly as wreaths," and the Maidu on the
American River had a dance in which girls wore
flower fillets and pelted spectators with
flowers.³³

KNOWLEDGE

Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc.

136 The following birds were identified by
825 J.A.; most of them were seen about her house
and yard, others, like the crane, were seen
during our trips into the fields within a two-
mile radius of her home.

The western robin (wip'e'lets, "singer")
"says 'Walk, walk, walk!' when it sings. People
in the foothills say that there are going to be
lots of blackberries when robins are plentiful."
Goldfinches (tow'i'nts; from tow'o'e, yellow
tule pollen) are named for tule pollen because
[26] "they go in among the tules and get yellow dust
all over themselves." They were eaten by some
people, but J.A. has not eaten them. The com-
mon blackbird (Brewer) is called "eyes" (tsa'tsa).
Those with white eyes are said to be the
females: they are called kuta'nan tsatsa from
ku'uts, small round clamshell beads. Western
bluebirds (tsoitsoi'ina) "come from the
mountains in winter. They say 'tsu'its,
tsu'its, tsu'its' which doesn't mean anything;
it is just his word." The mourning dove
(upla'li) "sings when she is going to lay an
egg." The meadow lark (ula'ti) "says when he
sings, 'Where you going? What you saying?'"
[237] (hu yu tuk ma, ha'wa yuk ma). Whippoorwill
844 (wai'wai) feathers were burned, put in water,
and drunk by a woman in labor. The whippoor-
will's cry was thought to "sound like a baby."
American magpie (o'tacts) was pine'ti, advice-
giver to the birds in mythical times, "just
like a lawyer." Killdeer (ka'tsa) frightened
people as they crossed the bridge to the land

[353] ³²J.A. said, "to go flowering, just like we are doing
now." Today, during the wildflower season, every Yokuts
home has a bouquet of blossoms thrust in a tin can or jelly
glass even though the flowers are profuse outdoors and
other domestic furnishings are of the crudest sort.

³³Barrett and Gifford, *Miwok Material Culture*, 222-223;
Powers, 325.

[P. 40a] Chuwut

796 her husband, W.At., who had never seen it. J.A. knew of it, as performed by the Wukchumni and Gawia, but she could not describe it well. She knew of one man, Sapa'te, who did this dance; the singers used cocoon rattles; it was done in the daytime. It took place in the fall, after the acorns were down; acorn mush could not be eaten, otherwise.

Bear doctors, however, were not uncommon in the lake region.

The Rattlesnake Ritual was not made by the Chunut, Tachi, or Wowol; it may have been made by the Gawia, Yokod, and Telamni; J.A. definitely attributes it to the foothill people. She once saw Pušl: 'l:n, a Choinimni, "go around with a snake" which he stepped on; that part was called tatlawas. She knew of no purpose in the performance: when one was bitten by a rattlesnake one called an ordinary sucking doctor. Neither did she know of coyote impersonation in this or any other connection.

First-fruit rites were merely called "little party" (witi lonu'iw:s), and seem to have been scrupulously observed, yet remained unelaborated. J.A. thinks the Tachi and Wowol were like the Chunut in the observation of

796 these rites, which pertained primarily to
616 berries and seeds. All seeds (pa'was, so'pas, tsos, su'kun, ya'ha'al, tsa'mit, and taitoi'ya [mushrooms]) were classified as Tokelyuwich, whereas berries, birds, and animals¹⁰⁰ were Nutuwich. The little ritual was a reciprocal function. The moiety associated with the foods, as Nutuwich was with berries, would obtain a supply of them when they first became available each year. The chiefs called the people to assemble, and the Nutuwich people presented them to the Tokelyuwich, who thereupon ate them. Then the Nutuwich were free to do so; the new crop remained tabu to them until the Tokelyuwich had eaten of it. If Nutuwich people ate blackberries (ma'mil) too soon, their children would "break out with berries all over their bodies." The same procedure was followed with seasonal foods associated with the other moiety.

796 J.A. referred to the Bear Dance and acorn
tabu in this connection, knowing it as an analogue in foothill culture. However, she did not know of any first rites in connection with salmon or migratory birds. Clover "belonged to everybody" and was eaten at any time of year; tobacco was also freely used. She was unable to give any details of the ceremonial eating, to name the participants, etc.; it seems reasonable to assume that the chiefs and their families were the first to partake as in the northern foothill region.

A seed-growing dance, which was at once a prophetic ritual and display of magical powers, was given each spring by one or two shamans who

¹⁰⁰J.A. could not classify the Nutuwich foodstuffs, rather vaguely making "berries" the sole food involved for this moiety.

[P. 516] Tubatulabal NS22

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no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters (there probably was a doorway frame of some sort). The fire was in front of the center post. Firewood was kept in two piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

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Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha'tim (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

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MISCELLANEOUS DATA

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Games---Women played huču'wis, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

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Pottery---Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

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Money---The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth \$2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

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Blankets---P.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbit skin or wildcat skin were used in them.

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Calendar---A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala'sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

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Hair nets---These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama'ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

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Yellowhammer strips---Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya'men) were known but rarely used.¹³⁰ A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

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Musical instruments---The flute (u'poi'ni) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

¹³⁰Cf. Koso specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

[P. 526] Tubatulabal NS22

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the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

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Moiety---The words Mutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

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Snake ritual---This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance---This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance---This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

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Shamans' Contest---There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

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Eagle purchase---A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.¹³³ There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

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Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later \$2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

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Jimsonweed Ritual

Jimsonweed (ta'nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

¹³³F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

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291 available. Large tules were pulled into strips;
286 they and whole small tules were pounded with a wooden stick on rock (usually the bedrock mortar where good working space was provided) until softened and pliable. Any of these materials, when made into aprons, was twined along one edge with willowbark string (ša'). One row of twining held the fibres together; a second, below the first, included the bent-over ends which had been turned down on the outside. Both rows of twining continued into a twisted two-strand belt. When asked why two aprons were made rather than one continuous skirt, M.L. said the back "wore out too fast"; hence the replaceable sections.

292 On dress occasions aprons of deerskin (xi'n:p) were worn, sometimes put on over the fibre aprons (fig. 8, b). The front apron of deerskin was edged with deer hoofs which rattled prettily. Not all women could afford these. M.L. spoke proudly of having such an apron which her mother had made for her first puberty ceremony. Women whose husbands were poor hunters or had other vocations bought deerskin and hoofs for themselves.

291 The basket cap (waki'nuts) was always
285 coiled, of a shape similar to the small individual wash basket. It was used only when
[482] carrying a heavy load with the tumpline (M.P.). While it is said to have been invariably coiled, the museum specimen (U.C. 1/2958; no provenience other than Yokuts) is a small, diagonally twined "bowl" (7-1/2" x 8" diameter at rim, 4-3/4" deep), palpably old and undoubtedly a cap. Its rim is bound with buckskin and is patched with buckskin at a point where a tumpline would have worn it. It is patterned with a wide band of double zigzag at the edge and a band of single zigzag near the base. There is no other piece like it in the Yokuts collection and it is presumably introduced from an outside source, possibly Miwok or Pomo. The attempt to preserve it by repair even suggests that it might have been valued because of its oddity among the Yokuts.

301 Ear ornaments (po') were differentiated from men's only by having two long strands of beads added; they were then called yau'wakan.

302 Women's hair was long save during the
[765] period of active mourning, when it was singed close to the head if grief were deep, to the shoulders for a lesser bereavement. Like men's it was parted in the middle and, at work, was tied at the nape of the neck, but the front hair was usually singed off to form bangs. Both sexes washed the hair with soaproot suds and brushed it with soaproot brushes.

● [237] On special occasions eagle down was stuck
381 on the bangs and fore hair with soaproot glue. An ornamental headband (hoči'n) worn by women
292 was woven of fine milkweed string by the usual "sewing" technique for belts and had beads introduced to form a diagonal pattern. The band was 2 to 3 inches wide, long enough almost to

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292 and shells added to the effect.¹⁵⁴ Such dress was not exclusively a shaman's but might be owned by any person who had need of it, for instance, a singer. Men borrowed shirts and hats when participating in dances or ceremonies.

[426] The feather skirt was called čo'ñiś (M. and M.P.), like the woman's fibre apron.¹⁵⁵ This was composed of strands of string into which owl down had been twisted. Each strand was tipped with a flicker (šipoi'its) feather. The skirt had a belt of its own from which the strands were suspended, but over this was worn another belt with beads woven into it (koikoi).

292 The headdress had two parts. The central part (ču) was an upright bunch of magpie tail feathers, surrounded at its base with white owl feathers; and, next, a thickset buttress of short black crow wing feathers. The second part (se'ma) was a fat fluffy crown of black or white owl breast feathers. The one pictured was of pure white and brushed lightly with red paint.¹⁵⁶

293 In the ear lobes were worn falcon quills (po') surrounded with quail crests.

237 Necklaces (walač) of small disc beads, the long humana beads, and abalone pendants were worn.

A bandoleer of koikoi carried eagle-feather pendants. Such little bunches of feathers, eagle or flicker, would hang from the neck or down the back, or swing from the wrists and upper arms of a doctor in full dress. A bandoleer of flicker quills was a rare prized ornament.

Around each wrist were weaselskin bands (sau'ñit). These carried special supernatural power. Weaselskin bands or bunches of feathers were often fastened below each knee. There were no ankle ornaments, and the feet were unshod.

Ornament

386 Paint---Three colors of paint were used by the Wukchumni and Gawia, as among other Yokuts. 302 The red paint (ho'y'n, J.B., M.L.; red color, pač'i'kan, J.B.) was an earth obtained at Wa wun between Badger and Aukland. It turned red when burned (possibly yellow ocher or cinabar). Red paint was not newly introduced at the Ghost Dance (as claimed by Powers) (J.B.). [177] Black paint (kadi'an) was a grey earth which [757] turned black when burned. It was used as a salve for sore eyes and rectum. White paint

¹⁵⁴The following description and reconstruction in fig. 8, d, are based on a photograph of M.P.'s uncle which I was not permitted to have copied. M.P. described each item of the costume as she recalled it.

¹⁵⁵Kroeber gives chohun; see Handbook, 508, pl. 42.

¹⁵⁶See also, *ibid.*, 508, fig. 44; and Holmes, pl. 35, wherein is shown a shaman's head net, feather headpieces, ear ornaments, hairpin, and shell-trimmed bandoleer.

[P. 906]

224 Deer meat was never sold, always given away. When men provided venison for public gatherings, they were paid for their trouble (services). Doctors, says S.G., were given the best parts. There are reasons for this respect for deer.

224 In the first world Deer was a quiet man who never went any place, and didn't talk. Then when it was time for the change¹⁵⁰ Eagle said to him, "All your body will be worth something. It isn't everybody who will be able to kill you." The next morning Deer ran out of his house. He made a big cave to live in. The next day there were thousands of deer in there. On the third day three hunters came to kill Deer; they were Cougar, Elk, and Spotted Cat. Coyote came along and interfered; he caught a deer. The deer got mad and all ran away. Finally Cougar succeeded in killing some deer-- he is the best hunter.

Now this Deer [meets] hoil lives back in this cave somewhere. Whenever a deer is killed it returns there. The "big" Deer has an arrow which he puts up in the cave. When "the right kind of person kills a deer" [treats it with respect] the arrow remains in place, but if the hunter is careless with his game, the arrow "will fall in less than a month and kill him."¹⁵⁰ A killed deer does not return to this world; the supply of deer continues by natural breeding.

224 Neither cougar nor bear was given any sign of veneration when it was killed, said S.G. Cougar "was a bad one," men who dreamed of him "got too much power." Bear was "not a killer, he only killed when he had to and then killed men."

223 Great respect was shown eagles, in fact, only a chief could order one killed. He paid 485 \$3.00 to \$5.00 for one. A man or woman would be asked to pluck and skin it, and would be 237 paid for the task. The large feathers were plucked off, the down left on the skin which was cased. Nothing of the eagle was ever thrown away; if it were, the hunter would die. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were later sold by the chief to those who wanted them. An eagle leg was said to be worth about \$2.50. Feathers having been plucked from it, the down-covered skin of the leg was cased, cleaned, dried, and then made pliable with tallow. In this way it served as a little container from which the down could be pulled as [534] needed. The bone of the upper leg was made into a whistle. Tallow was used as a salve, and as a binder for face paint.

¹⁴⁹Transformation to animals, and coming of human beings, vide Gayton and Newman, abstract 137 and notes.

[17] ¹⁵⁰The Navajo, among other western tribes, believe that a killed deer returns "home" to report on its treatment; if not satisfactory, the hunter is stricken with illness or death (Hill, Agricultural and Hunting Methods, 96).

[P. 71 a]

- 223 The eagle's carcass was returned to the
 237 hunter who killed it. He put it in the river,
 completely immersed.

539 Eagle lived over the water before the
 772 world was changed.¹⁷⁰ It is the only place he
 can be buried. He rises in three days and goes
 back to his home which is way back east some-
 where. At that place there is one main one
 (wats to h:l) who says to the risen bird, "Who
 killed you?" Eagle tells what has happened to
 him, and if he has been treated properly the
 head Eagle says, "He was the right kind of man;
 he will live to be an old man." If the report
 was not good, then the man would die right away.
 The eagle who had been killed never again re-
 turned to earth, but kept flying in the oppo-
 site direction, upward, higher and higher
 (S.G.).¹⁷¹

136 Three "eagles" designated by S.G. proved
 to be condor (wats), "who lived high in the
 mountains," the bald eagle (wi't:s), and grey
 eagle (t'oh:l), who was "the only real tiya
 [chief] and the only one that knew anything."
 Grey eagle took "the power" from the other two
 and they are carrion as a result. Once S.G.
 saw an eagle that had been in a coyote trap
 four days. It did not move as he approached,
 but directly he released it, it flew off home.

224 J.P. said that when a man went out to kill
 130 bear, deer, or eagle, and sometimes rabbit
 "because he [rabbit] was a little bit mean too,"
 but not squirrels or birds, he would keep talk-
 ing to them about what he was going to do. When
 he was near his prey he would say, "tundi'ta
 p'ot'a ma t'up: nita," (? ? you go-up) so
 that it would not be offended. When hunting
 this same animal or its companions, the hunter
 would be agreeable to it. He would tell it
 that he would "fix up" its body so that it
 would go up, ti'p:ni. "A mean animal is one
 that runs after people, or hurts them, or runs
 away so as not to be killed. In old days a
 bear would run after people and kill them. A
 Bear man would go out in the night and prayer-
 fully ask Bear not to keep people from getting
 their food" [chasing them when they were hunt-
 ing, gathering acorns or clover, etc.].

Deer hunting.--When stalking deer or
 antelope the hunter wore a horned disguise of
 either animal, though it was said that the most
 skilled hunters did not resort to this.

281 The Wukchumni deer-stalking disguise was
 made of the entire skin and antlers. In skin-
 ning an animal the legs were cut lengthwise on
 the inside, and a ventral cut was made from the

¹⁷⁰In the prehuman era, before the birds and animals
 transformed themselves into their present forms. However,
 in this instance S.G.'s explanation is, I think, a ration-
 alization. Water is "immortal" and revival by placing in
 water is the common Yokuts belief, as expressed verbally
 and in their myths.

171 The Navajo believe that "killed eagles go way up in
 the sky and live there" (Hill, op. cit., 98).

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411

322 No. 1-3943 was selected for description. It measures 3 feet, 7-3/4 inches in over-all length and is 1-3/8 inches in width at center. The bow curvature is slight, and only one end is now recurved. The ends differ, one having a projection to carry the permanent fastening of the bowstring, the other hooked (fig. 10, c), the string being hooked and unhooked over this end. This weapon differed from the others of the group in having a hand grasp 7-1/2 inches wide of skin thong wound around the bow at the center. The wrappings were exactly parallel, touching but never overlapping. The wrapping was started by laying one end along the outside and returning the wrapping over this end. On the back about 6 inches above the grasp was glued a red-headed woodpecker's scalp. It is possible that this was a hunter's talisman.

[237]

The sinew-backed bow (fig. 10, b) was doubtless made of mountain cedar (juniper) as Kroeber states, as was true for the neighboring Mono from whom, in fact, most Yokuts bows were obtained.¹⁷³ The sinew used was that taken from the long back muscles of deer; it was fastened to the back of the bow with glue made of boiled deer brains. The string was of sinew (pik:t).

[439]

Kroeber states:

The commonest type (of bow), primarily for the hunt, was nearly as long as a man, of about two fingers' width and the thickness of one. The ends were recurved, probably through a curling back of the thickened sinew. Bows made specifically for fighting were shorter, broader, and flatter, and pinched in the middle. Except for being unpainted and probably not quite so extreme in form, this type appears to have been the same as the northern California one.¹⁷⁴

Powers describes Yokuts bows as he saw them.¹⁷⁵

[439]

As to their implements and weapons, there are some interesting particulars to be noted. Here, as everywhere on the Sacramento and Joaquin plains, the Indians make no bows (sic—no sinew-backed bows), but purchase them all from the mountaineers. This is because they have no cedar. This wood is extremely brittle when dry, and is then the poorest possible material for bows; but by anointing it every day with deer's marrow while it is drying the Indian overcomes this quality and renders it the best. The bow is taken from the white or sap wood, the outside of the tree being also the outside of the bow. It is scraped and polished down with wonderful painstaking, so that it may bend evenly, and the ends are generally carved so as to point back slightly.

¹⁷³A description of making the sinew-backed bow is in the Moberg section, Pt. II.

¹⁷⁴Handbook, 530.

¹⁷⁵p. 373.

[P. 73b]

- 411 Then the Indian takes a quantity of deer's
 • 237 sinew, splits it up with flint into small
 322 fibers, and glues them on the outside or flat
 back of the weapon until it becomes semi-
 cylindrical in shape. These strings of sinew,
 being lapped around the end of the bow and
 doubled back a little way, impart to it its
 wonderful strength and elasticity. The glue is
 made by boiling the joints of various animals
 and combining the product with pitch.

I saw a bow thus carefully made in the
 hands of an aged chief and it was truly a
 magnificent weapon. It was about five feet
 long, smooth and shining -- for when it be-
 comes a little soiled the fastidious savage
 scrapes it slightly with flint, then anoints it
 afresh with marrow -- and of such great
 strength that it would require a giant to bend
 it in battle. For lack of skins the owner
 carried it in a calico case. The string, com-
 posed of twisted sinew, was probably equal in
 strength to a sea-grass rope of three times its
 diameter. When not used the bow was unstrung,
 and the string tied around the left limb of the
 bow, and to prevent the slightest lesion of
 either the bow or the string the former had a
 section of fur from some animal's tail, about
 four inches long, slipped onto it.

- 411 Arrows (toi 'yuš) according to S.G., were
 237 about 2 feet long for deer, a bit less than 2
 feet for bear-killing, as not more than 2
 inches of the arrow extended beyond the bow
 when it was drawn. For small game a 4-foot,
 one-piece, arrow of willow (kai 'wan) was used.
 The cane arrow (si 'kəd) had a foreshaft of oak
 sprout, which, when shaped to a point, was
 ground down on a rock and then heated over
 coals for hardening. Deer arrows were of cane
 with an obsidian tip (fig. 10, e, f) on the
 foreshaft. All arrows had three feathers,
 preferably "squirrel" hawk (šo 'hup) wing
 feathers. The top of each split feather was
 fastened first, each one being inserted under
 a separate turn of the binding sinew. When the
 bottoms of the feathers were fastened down,
 they were laid a trifle out of line to give a
 slight spiraling of the feathers, "to make the
 arrow fly straight." The feathers had to be
 left wing feathers, as only one half of each
 feather was used, and these were always laid
 on with the "right side" (outside) toward the
 worker.¹⁷⁶ S.G. did not know how the obsidian
 [438] points were made. He says a natural obsidian
 was obtained from the lake people: if his
 statement is correct they must, in turn, have
 gotten it from Coast Range people.

- 411 Arrows were kept in a quiver made of a
 237 whole fox skin with fur left on. It was called
 a 'oja timai 'ya (fox sack) and was hung on the
 right shoulder.

Of Yaudanchi arrows Kroeber states:¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶I neglected to inquire if a left-handed arrowmaker
 used right wing feathers which, it seems, would be re-
 quired. Possibly such a man would insert the feathers with
 the wrong side toward himself.

¹⁷⁷Handbook, 530.

[P. 74a]

411

237

The arrow, shikid, generically, had three forms among the Yaudanchi, known as t'uyosh, djibaku, and wuk'ud. The war arrow had no foreshaft, but a rather long wooden point, notched. It measured from the finger tip nearly to the opposite shoulder or a trifle more than the possible pull of the bow.... The ordinary hunting arrow had a long sharpened foreshaft, but no real head. The deer arrow had foreshaft and flint head, but the foreshaft was socketed without glue or tie, so that the main shaft would disengage after hitting.

Powers saw two types of arrows:¹⁷⁶

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[824]

Of arrows, the Indians living on the plains made some for themselves of button-willow, straight twigs of the buckeye, and canes, but the most durable came from the mountains. There are two kinds, war-arrows and game-arrows; the former furnished with flint heads, the latter not. The shaft of the war-arrow consists of a single piece, but that of the game-arrow is frequently composed of three pieces, furnished with sockets so adjusted as to fit into each other snugly. When the hunter, lurking behind the covert, sees the quarry approaching, he measures quickly with his eye the probable length of shot he will have to make, and if it is a long one he couches his arrow with three pieces; but if a short one, with extraordinary quickness he twitches it apart, takes out the middle section, claps the two end sections together again, and fires. An arrow made of what we should call the frailest of all woods, the tender shoot of a buckeye, and pointed with flint, has carried death to many a savage in battle. I have seen an Indian couch a game-arrow, which was pointed only with a section of arrow-wood, and drive it a full half-inch into the hardest oak!

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The arrow straightener used by all Yokuts has been described and illustrated by Kroeber:¹⁷⁹

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322

The prevailing arrow straightener among the Yokuts is the Southern California form: a well-shaped rectangular block of stone, often rounded or ridged on top, and invariably with a polished transverse groove. This implement is undoubtedly associated with the employment of cane for arrows: the Yokuts are known to have used the plant, though not exclusively. The joints were warmed in the groove and bent by hand or on the ridge after the stone had been heated; the groove was also used for smoothing. The holed straightener of wood or horn for wooden shafts, as employed all over northern California, has not been reported from the Yokuts.¹⁸⁰

[171]

Cane arrows were realigned before and after each usage. The cane shaft, with foreshaft removed, was grasped at each end and drawn across the hot groove with a rolling,

¹⁷⁶p. 374.

¹⁷⁹Handbook, 530, pl. 49, c.

¹⁸⁰Letts (Uncle Jeff's Story, 26) recently reports that a perforated stone disc was so used by the Choininmi. A.S.G.

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[P. 74b]

pushing motion. Willow arrows were straightened by the same method.

- 223 Bird hunting.--Kroeber attributes the
349 pigeon booth to the Yaudanchi and describes a similar method by which they captured eagles.¹²¹

The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Outside were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles.

[237]

- 223 The Wukchumni went up the Kaweah River into Patwisha territory to get wild pigeons (So'owin). They had their own booths up there. They took with them house mats for temporary shelter, and these they sold to the Patwisha when returning.

[437]

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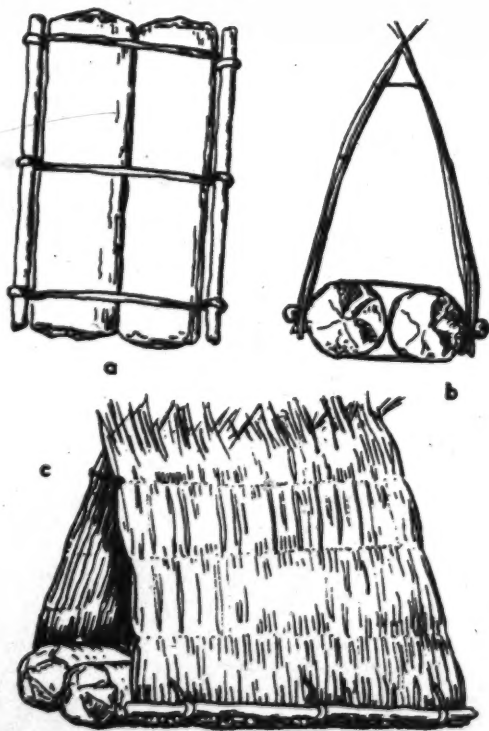


Fig. 11. Wukchumni hunting and fishing blind. a, log float. b, end view. c, sewn tule screens in place.

[P. 75b]

226 depths of water. The handle (hoiḥ) was of
elderwood. According to one informant (J.P.)
227 the handle (more probably a part of the handle)
could be detached entirely if one was working
under bushes, but this does not agree with
other information. Two hollow shafts of deer
tibia (to 'koi) were lashed on one end, and into
[237] these were fitted bone points (pi 'če tu 'h'na)
about 2 inches long. A cord with about 2 feet
of "play" leashed the point to the main handle.
The point was essentially a toggle when freed
from its housing, the attaching cord usually
being fastened to it by wrapping and sealing
with pitch or asphalt.¹²²

[321] A separate harpoon point in the University
of California Museum of Anthropology (1-10422)
has a cord 28 inches long, is of bone, and is
3-3/4 inches in length. Another (no. 1-3954)

[325] is a one-piece togglehead, slightly over 3
inches long (79 mm.) of iron or steel; is per-
haps a tine from a rake. A 2-ply cord is laid
against the middle of this and probably lashed
around several times and then is fastened to
the metal by a dark substance which may be
asphalt or pitch. It has in it grains of some
mineral substance which looks like feldspar
from decomposed granite. (These might be a by-
product from the melting of the gum.) The
length of the free string is about 21 inches.¹²³
Both specimens are from the Chukchansi Yokuts.

226 Weirs of willow were set across rivers or
streams at suitable places. The willows used
were about finger thickness and 3 feet long.
They were interwoven with willowbark rope. Into
the weir and facing upstream were set cylindri-
cal baskets 6 to 10 feet long and 12 to 18
inches in diameter; as many as three of these
might be used. If fish were needed in a hurry,
men, women, and children would wade downstream
driving fish ahead of them into the basket
traps. Ordinarily the baskets were left over-
night, when sufficient fish would have ac-
cumulated in them by morning.

226 A favorite method of catching fish in
pools was by stupefaction. Two plants were
used. One, ta 'dad, was a plant which grew
278 near streams. It was mashed fine, put in sift-
ing baskets, and shaken out over the surface of
the water. This "made the fish crazy"; as
they jumped about near the surface they were
grabbed in the hands and scooped up in large
openwork baskets. The other plant, ya 'oha,
"grows on the mountains." It was soaked in
[522] water and mashed with a stick, and the mass put
in the fishing hole. The person who performed
this service was facetiously referred to as a
doctor (aṇṭu). Kroeber mentions two other

¹²²One informant claimed the point was drilled and the
cord tied through the hole. This seems unlikely as no such
attachment is reported from any other Yokuts or neighboring
tribe.

¹²³Description, kindness of Dr. A.L. Kroeber.

[P. 86 b]

285 all coiled shapes save the flattish trays the working edge was that nearest the maker, which was the outside of the basket. On the open flat trays whose upper side was the seen or "best" side, the work was done on the far edge of the basket, the work still progressing from left to right. On a certain type of small flaring bowl, the inside and outside of which were about equally visible, the work might be done either way the maker preferred. The fact is that most Yokuts workmanship was so skilled that both sides of a basket were equally perfect. Split stitches were the mark of poor workmanship; it was also claimed that the coiled stitches were never interlocked.

Ornamental materials were split redbud bark (a 'nep), which varied in color from a rich maroon red to a chestnut brown, and a black root (mono h:ē). When a pattern was to be introduced, the plain wrapping was cut off and fastened, and the colored wrappings replaced it. This method was always followed even if only one or two turns of the colored binding were needed. In other words, there was only one layer of wrapping. No double-wrapping, overlay, or imbrication was used. An especially fancy ornamentation was that of quail top-knot feathers applied at the edge of the shouldered or bottleneck basket. The quill end of the feather was inserted under the turn of the wrapping with its tip to the left where it was held down with the thumb of the left hand while the binding stitch was drawn up. In this way it slightly overlaid its predecessor and did not project forward in the way of the worker's fingers.

531
285 Kroeber shows eighteen basket designs to which I can add only one called "waves" which is said to represent the billows of Tulare Lake.³⁰¹ This may be seen in plate 1 in the feather-edged basket toward the lower left and in a large flaring basket directly above it. The pattern at the bottom is the more usual rendition.

Cradles

854 In old times the cradle, with forked-stick foundation and tule mattress, was used exclusively in this region. The tule mattress, which has been thought of as a separated [184] cradle by ethnographers,³⁰² functioned as such only on the borders of the lakes, where sound wood for frames was scarce. A permanent twined tule mat was affixed to the frame, but another, larger one, was added with the baby when it was on the cradle. This larger mat was really a mattress in which the baby slept at night, still lashed in it. When put on the frame, the

³⁰¹Handbook, 533. A story of the origin of basket designs is recorded by Latta, California Indian Folklore, 75-79.

³⁰²Kroeber, Handbook, 534, pl. 40, g.

[P. 926] Western Mono NS25

Musical Instruments

Y
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M
[534]
Y
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All informants agree that no drum of any type was used by the Yokuts or, for that matter, by the Western Mono. The foot drum of the Miwok was known, and was referred to as pu mpum.

A whistle (pu'sač) of eagle leg bone was used by doctors and by the huhuna dancer.

Ordinary whistling as Europeans know it was not indulged in, but instead a kind of "humming through the front teeth" was practiced. Some women did this, but mostly men while working at odd jobs (J.P.). This "whistling" was called šiš: k'neta; perhaps was a sort of hissing.

Y
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The flute (uoi' 'i) was of elder wood, averaging about eighteen inches long. It was end-blown, but was held at the right side of the mouth, not centered, at an angle of about 45° below horizontal (S.G.). The flute was reedless and had four holes.²²¹ A frequent custom for men was to nap at home or in the sweat house, during a rain and, on awakening, to play the flute.

A clapper (ta'owid) of elder wood was used for ordinary pleasure dances such as the wati-yod, whereas the cocoon rattle (sa'nač) was used only for serious performances like the Bear Dance.

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The cocoons used for rattles were those of the ceanothus silk moth which infested the oak trees of the roblar and chaparral of the foothills. The cocoon was carefully freed from its moorings, a twig inserted into one end and then held close to glowing coals to singe off the "silk" and kill the pupa within. At this time the cocoon shell was soft, and was pressed about the twig, being wrapped and held in place by a bit of sinew string. The cocoon was left in the sun until the pupa had become thoroughly dried and, shrunk to a hard small mass, rattled about inside. Pebbles were sometimes inserted. Two to four such cocoons were then tied onto a little handle about six inches long.²²²

Deer-hoof rattles were not used, but the hoofs were sewed around the edge of women's deer skin aprons where "they made a pretty noise" (M.L.). This informant claimed a rattle made of deer hide and pebbles was used for the Bear Dance.

Tobacco

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Tobacco (šo'gen) grew all through the foothills. Any person who wished to might pre-

²²¹Illustrated by Kroeber, *ibid.*, pl. 43, b. Although Kroeber states that the "holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relation of distance" (p. 509) it appears that the 4-holed flutes (pl. 43) have spacings roughly constant in relation to each other and the total length of the instrument.

²²²Illustrated by Kroeber, *ibid.*, fig. 37, a.

[P. 102a] Wukchumi

844

[343]

The place of birth was in the dwelling, according to M.P., but M.L., older and more knowledgeable in aboriginal ways, insisted that delivery took place in a private hut. If the separate hemispherical structure were not erected for her by her husband, she would clear out her storehouse and use it. The baking pit for use after delivery was outside the dwelling, and it may be this, rather than delivery itself, which M.L. had in mind.

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[237]

At the onset of birth pains the woman got her mother or whichever female relative was to help her. They heated water. Meanwhile the husband was preparing coals, hot stones, and bark to be used in the heated pit, although he did not go near his wife during delivery. No men were ever present, unless a shaman was called in a case of seriously difficult parturition. A shaman gave a drink of pulverized bear's claws to aid the birth. The shaman Haičāča had a long bear claw to help women in parturition. He rubbed his hands on it, then on the patient. Then he blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Squatting before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come" (M.P.). But often a woman had some method of her own. M.L. had a little supernatural power; Quail was her dream helper. When aiding her daughter in labor, she called on Quail to help. Immediately some quail calls sounded near by, čī "up, up, up": "the baby heard them and came right out."

[788]

The maternal grandmother of J.P. dreamed of a roadrunner who told her how to help women in labor. Although she was not a doctor -- "this was just her dream" -- she aided other women with her knowledge.

844

A hollow was made in the floor to one side of the fire pit. It was filled with sand or dry earth and some pieces of old tule mats laid over it. The mother squatted at its edge and pulled on two stakes driven into the ground. (These were not digging sticks.) The assistant stood behind her, pressed her head, her back, her abdomen, always with downward pressing movements. If labor were prolonged, the parturient would get up and walk about between spasms.

[412]

As the infant emerged, the assistant caught it off the mats beneath the mother, easing it onto some old deer skins. Pinching the cord about two inches from the infant's body, she cut it with a cane knife and tied the stump with a piece of fine sinew. The cord and afterbirth were taken to the river and fastened to a stake so they could not float away: this prevented the child from ever being sick at its stomach (M.L.). The afterbirth was thrown in the river so the baby would never be sick, according to M.P., who added that often a girl's,

[P. 109 a] Wukchumni

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[237]

dream occurred, the dreamer rose and went away from surrounding dwellings to talk to his dream helper, which was usually an animal or bird. He took eagle down with him and sprinkled it over little oak trees. Nothing was seen in "vision" during this interlude; it was merely a prayerful acknowledgment of the previous dream appearance of the helper, with a request for continued assistance. S.G. said that the dreamer should repeat this exit from the house about every half-hour after waking from the dream; other informants said that once was sufficient. The real point was that the dreamer should not fall asleep again: probably some found it necessary to remain active lest sleep overcome them. If one fell asleep and the dream were forgotten, it would not only be "lost," but the helper would be so deeply offended it would never come again, or might even cause sickness. The day following the dream the dreamer fasted entirely and went off to some secluded spot to continue his prayerful contacts with his tutelary. A few puffs of smoke might be taken at that time.

[788]

All persons with supernatural power, and those respectful to this cosmic force, t:pmi, spoke prayerfully to the sun, moon, and morning star when they first saw them each day.

J.P. and M.P. described the procedure of seeking and dealing with supernatural power.

[237]

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If a man wanted to live long or wished for other benefits, he would go to a chief and buy some eagle down (sayi). (He could resell all or any part of this if he wished.) Some winter night, no matter how cold, he would go off to a distant hilltop. He wore no clothes and went about midnight. Before starting he chewed a little tobacco and then spat it out. At the hilltop he would scatter eagle down and in a standing posture "talk to those two tis'as" (Eagle and Wolf [sic; Mountain Coyote]). He would enumerate all those things which he did not want to happen to him and all those which he did want. He stayed and talked this way for about thirty minutes; Eagle or Wolf would reply.

[423]

No fasting preceded such an expedition and there was no particular name for the spot where the prayers were made. A chief usually went repeatedly to the same place, which by general consent was known to be his and avoided. Women occasionally sought help in this manner but would not go so far from their home as men. The preferred time for seeking supernatural aid was in midwinter "about Christmas time during the bad month" and it was only done once a year.²³⁰ (It was at this time that youths were forced to rise and bathe in icy water at night.) If the seeker passed a stream of water on the way

²³⁰Reminiscence of the midwinter spiritual period of certain northwestern tribes (cf. Spier, Klamath Ethnography, 260, 266; Kay, Cultural Relations, 102 ff.).

1. [unclear] the puberty and initiation (person). -

Analysis

[P. 110 b] Wukchumni.

787 a good hunter or a bad man. A man who wanted
776 to show he had power through Cougar would wear
825 the claws tied on his arms with cougar sinew
(S.G.).

Antelope---"The little yellow deer
(ija hajit) was a shaman. His body was just
like a net: bullets went right through it. He
helped a man to be a doctor, but one who went
by this deer did not live long because there
were too many rules for a person to follow"
(S.G.).²³³

Deer---If a man were chasing a deer and
the animal got tired, it might come back to the
hunter and tell him it would make him a power-
ful doctor (J.P.).

Owl---The horned owl (hutu'du) was the
dream helper of the huhuna dancer. "He could
see anything" (M.L.).

Miscellaneous---Cougar, Wildcat, and
Buffalo (aic) (Elk) are three helpers for good
hunters (S.G.).

Coyote, Weasel, and Skunk are doctors'
helpers (J.B.).

Curing

756 All shamans had a collection of talismans,
778 which were usually kept in a sack of skin such
as a weasel, otter, skunk, or small wildcat
skin. The shouldered basket (osa) was so used
sometimes. This collection was not kept around
the house but was hidden outdoors in some rocky
crevice. Anyone who touched it would get sore
fingers or sore eyes. Because of their power
these outfits were burned or buried at the
owner's death. Only a relative who had at
least as much power as the deceased shaman
would dare to keep and use the talismans; if he
tried to and were insufficiently powerful, he
would die. However, shamans were buried like
plain people; there was no special disposal.
[764] An essential to all curing equipment was eagle
[237] down, both loose and rolled into cord; all
persons with t:pni power, whether professional
or not, wanted and used this material.

757 Shamans seem to have been called to cure
headache, chest pains, chest congestion, heart
trouble (vertigo), rheumatism, and chills and
fever. Nausea was said to be uncommon, and
[752] persons suffering from this usually cured
themselves by drinking herbal infusions. These
ailments (save nausea) were all thought to be
caused by the intrusions of some malignant
object which might have been sent by a malici-
ous shaman, by a ghost, or by an offended
supernatural animal or bird. The first cause
was regarded as the most probable, the last
was least likely.

Chills and fever were usually accompanied
by headache. To cure this a doctor put water
on top of the patient's head and sucked without

²³³That is, the person made a mistake and offended his
helper who caused his death. This is a strange word for
antelope, but what other can be meant?

[P. 111 a] Wukichumai

757 cutting. "The chills and fever came right out of the top of the head" (M.P.).

755 If a person met a ghost (tawa'taa) after dark it might cause the intrusion of such objects as fingernails, hair, or clots of blood. These had to be sucked out from a cut. (See Anecdote 8 below.)

If a woman had an intimate man friend who died, he might come back and have intercourse with her. An orgasm during sleep was attributed to this. But a severe headache was believed to result, which had to be sucked out through the top of the head by a professional shaman.

754 Most illnesses were attributed to evil shamans who were thought to "shoot" the intrusive object in order to be called to treat the case and so receive payment. (See Anecdotes.)

[827] J.B. said all sicknesses with pain were caused by shamans. Pain was called ho'ba (the word also for blood). Shamans shot pains into the lumbar region of woman's backs.

756 When curing, shamans wore the same dress
535 regalia as when dancing: feather headdress,
292 weasel-skin wristlets,²⁵⁴ down-strand skirt,
237 feather bunches hanging from the wrists, ear
plugs, and other ornaments. Not every shaman
owned such a complete outfit: the most important
item, after the feather hand bunch which after
all was an implement of work, was the feather
hat. Any man who was going to do something
special in a ceremonial way would buy or borrow
one of these, whether he was a shaman or not.

755 Cases of slight sickness did not call for singing or dancing. The doctor pressed his patient all over, asked for symptoms from both patient and attending relatives, and also asked about the patient's recent activities in order to explore the possibility of the sick man's having had some weird experience (such as meeting a ghost) to which the illness was attributable. Then he smoked, communed with his helper, and proceeded with whatever treatment he deemed best. A more stubborn case would call for singing and dancing. This was done in the house beside the patient and in the presence of the family. As the shaman danced he repeated aloud what his supernatural advisor was telling him. (But he was not possessed; it was not the helper's voice or words, but his own.) If the doctor "wanted to make a show," he would have the patient removed to the public fire where people assembled to watch. During this performance the shaman might hire a singer to accompany him and a winatum to assist him.

755 It was the privilege of anyone who wished or
522 dared to give a clowning pantomime of the shaman's activities, "but it was usually a

[826]
[435]

²⁵⁴These protected the vulnerable seat of supernatural power in the wrists. M.L. said a shaman would pay one hista (about 25 cents) for a weasel (aho'ot) skin.

[P. 111 b] Wukchumni

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[522]

Coyote man" (i.e., of Coyote lineage) who did so (S.G.).

The methods used by the shaman Haičāča were offered by J.P. and M.P. as examples of the customary curing procedure. (See also Anecdote 10 below.)

[237]

Haičāča had dreamed of Falcon (līm:k). He then bought a falcon head from someone, skinned it, leaving the beak intact, and filled the skin with fine tule shreds. He hung beads on threads run through its nostrils, and wrapped the whole thing in many strands of beads. These were never removed even when he was curing. When curing, Haičāča dipped the falcon head in water and ran his hands over it. Then he laid it down and rubbed his hands over his patient. This was used on one case, then was useless until he dreamed of Falcon again.

[237]

He had an eagle head similarly prepared with which he cured J.P.'s back.

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He had a long bear claw (Bear was his family totem), which he used to cure a woman in labor. It was used like the falcon head. He also blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Kneeling before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come."

755

[776]

[823]

Haičāča did not sing when curing: he conversed prayerfully with his supernatural helpers (ain:č) and to Water which was helping him. Since the water he used was obtained at Gutsnumi, he addressed it as "Gutsnum." Water was a powerful helper. At Gutsnumi there was an underwater person who was adverse to strangers swimming there and pulled them under. Like eagle down, Water was a general assistant in supernatural matters and to dream of it was a propitious indication of its willingness to help one, yet it was not a tutelary in quite the same sense, not so personified perhaps, as a flesh-and-blood creature like Cougar, Eagle, Owl, etc.

Miscellaneous Powers

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Contagious magic.--While the practice of contagious magic was not developed, it was clearly recognized, and Wukchumni took precautions against leaving their hair, saliva, discarded clothing, etc., available to malicious shamans. S.G. denied the practice to the Wukchumni, saying that they left their hair and soiled clothing wherever they wished; he attributed the evil to "southerners." It is difficult in cases described, to distinguish between this idea and that of poisoning, and I am not sure that a difference exists, save that in poisoning an actual contact between the person and the poisoned object seems to be necessary. In either event some very personal possession of the intended victim, such as hair combings, or a piece of dress, is treated with some virulent material or "poison." Whether the

537 1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
778 [P. 113b] Wukchumni;
825
756 located, Čoiš:šu (dog place); the correct name
is pački.

Anecdotes of Supernatural and
Curing Experiences

787 1. J.P.'s grandmother, Pono'sa, dreamed
778 of a roadrunner which came and hopped on her
hand; it told her how to help women in labor.
She was not a professional doctor: "this was
just her *ainio* [dream helper]."

752 2. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši,
was a snake handler; J.P.'s poša was Rattle-
snake.²⁵⁹ Once J.P. was bitten by a rattlesnake;
he went to his uncle, who cut off the snake,
put it in a bag, and later released it near a
rock pile. The uncle sucked the wound and put
ashes on it; he told J.P. never to kill a snake.

3. In 1926, J.P.'s horse, while grazing,
was bitten on the nose by a rattlesnake. It
was sick for a week yet recovered although J.P.
did nothing to cure it. J.P. said, "It got
well because Rattlesnake is my poša. Anybody
else's horse would have died. Yes, sir!"

787 4. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši
789 was of the Rattlesnake lineage. He had the
special power of being invulnerable to bullets,
776 [sic] having "dreamed of a gun that didn't go off"
[sic]. He dreamed thus:

He was down in a gully. Two men came
along and shot at him, but the bullets did not
penetrate his clothes. They called to him to
come up, but instead he flew out of his clothes
and landed on the far side of the [Kaweah]
river. There he turned into a rattlesnake "so
that even the horses could not see him."

An analogue to this dream occurred soon
after. The old man was down by the river when
two white men, one of whom was John Doe,²⁶⁰ came
by on horseback. They called to him and, when
he did not respond, shot at him. "The bullets
came right at him but didn't hurt him." He
called on his poša: instantly he turned into
a rattlesnake and slipped away in the under-
brush.

J.P. added that dreams of invulnerability
were common.

756 5. The power of flying, known to northern
789 neighbors of the Wukchumni, was mentioned by
237 S.G.

A shaman from Kings River came down to a
Wukchumni celebration a long time ago. He was
going to be killed by some avengers, but some-
one warned him. He had three strings of eagle-
down cord each about five feet long. At this
ceremony he walked out across the assembly
space dragging the talismans behind him. Sud-
denly he vanished from sight. After the
trouble was over he reappeared again.

756 6. J.B. told of a man who dreamed he was
787 chased by a ghost (tawatsa) all the way from
Dunlap to Drum Valley. When he arrived there,
a shaman already knew what had happened and
told of it. "Doctors always knew what other
people dreamed."

²⁶⁰He followed his maternal lineage totem because his
paternal ancestry was part white.

²⁶¹J.P. added, "John Doe went blind because he wasn't a
good man. He had a lot of white doctors to help him but he
didn't treat them right."

[P. 114b] wukchunni

756 acorn mush. He went swimming in the middle of
 787 the ensuing night and then came home and slept
 until dawn "when opod [sun] called him." He
 swam again and ate a tiny piece of meat for
 breakfast. Haičāca continued this routine
 until both his grandparents died.
 After that he went to live "over Telamni
 way." While there, he dreamed of Crow (ho'toi),
 [778] who promised him aid "if he would only believe
 in what he was dreaming." He secured a crow's
 wing which, as a talisman (ainč), he kept
 close to his person. About a month later a
 shaman who came down from Dunlap engaged
 Haičāca in a gambling game. This doctor could
 hear the crow talisman (hotoi ainč) singing
 under Haičāca's clothes: "It kept singing
 [754] 'kah! kah! kah!'" The shaman demanded the talis-
 man. Haičāca denied that he possessed one,
 "but it was no use." The doctor threatened to
 make him sick and kill him if he did not give
 it up. So Haičāca gave up the crow wing and he
 cried for an entire week over the loss.

At about this time Haičāca's mother's
 756 cousin, whom he went to visit at Naranjo, gave
 787 him some jerky. He took the meat home and ate
 it. Soon his heart began to palpitate. He
 754 started to go to Dohem [?], where he was work-
 ing, and after crossing the river he coughed
 up blood. It was at Dohem that he had had his
 first dream of Frog, and when he reached there
 he vomited. He remembered his dream and called
 on Frog to help him. Down at the spring where
 he went to drink, a big frog came to him. The
 man had lain down by the water and the frog
 jumped on his stomach. At once he vomited an
 object that "looked like blood all wrapped up
 in coyote hair." Then a whole chorus of little
 frogs came up around his feet and sang.
 Haičāca felt better at once and, rising, went
 right back to Naranjo. His "uncle" ran off at
 his approach and did not return until Haičāca
 left.

Subsequently Haičāca went down to Tulare
 to shear sheep. One night, while his vest was
 hanging on his bed, someone put poison on the
 shoulder of it. When he put on the garment,
 his shoulder felt like fire. He kept the vest,
 however, and a little later a woman "burned it
 up for him." Instead of being cured, the
 shoulder became worse; his shoulder, chest, and
 finally arm, hand, and foot swelled up badly.
 "He nearly died." How he was cured of this
 ailment M.P. did not know, "unless by a Catho-
 lic priest's prayer."

756 Haičāca became a good doctor; "he never
 hurt anybody." He would have taught M.P. to be
 a doctor "if she had been a boy. There were
 lots of women doctors south of Kern River."
 [237] Haičāca once cured M.P.'s husband, J.P.,
 of a lame back. For this he used the eagle-
 head talisman for rubbing. "Then he cut and
 sucked out blood in the shape of two little
 frogs."

546 11. The only case known to my informants
 613 of a water creature serving as a family totem
 (poša) was that of H.L.'s family. M.P. told
 825 of it. H.L. himself is "master of Otter"
 (naha'at). Neither H.L. nor his sister will
 eat fish "because their father was sick for a
 long time from fish." 264

On the contrary, Fish, as his poša, cured him in both
 illnesses recounted. The statement is merely a case of in-
 version due to H.L.'s inadequate English.

[P. 120 a] Wukchumni

276
752 S.G. knew a man who had a broken bone. He fasted twenty-four hours. Then he drank tañai in continuing small doses which "kept him drunk three or four days during which time the bone was set. When tañai was used this way bones would set within a week."

M.P. knew a man who lived in Antelope Valley; he was part Patwisha, part Wukchumni. He broke his arm. He took jimsonweed to drink and also made a poultice for his arm. "Even though the bones had overlapped they went right back into place."

276 J.B. knew two Wukchumni who lived in Antelope Valley who took tañai "just to find out things." They were Obogu'nda and Walai. J.B. had seen Choinimni take it but "never saw anyone use it at Dunlap" [Entimlich and Wobonuch, but see Wobonuch account, Pt. II].

Bear Dance

796
613 The Bear Dance (ñoho 'o ka 'maič) was one of the most important ceremonies of the year.²⁶⁹ It always took place in the fall after the new acorn crop had been gathered and stored. Until the rite was performed, the new acorns were tabu to all people having Bear as a totem animal, although others could eat them if they wished. Important people of Bear lineages, particularly the dancers, conversed among themselves, deciding on who should take part, on the date, and so forth. Their decisions were told to the local chief who, through his winatum, announced when and where the affair was to be held: the date was usually set six days ahead. Meanwhile food was gathered by the persons of the Bear lineages and by the chief. They were the hosts and provided all the food, although visitors might send or bring food, for [574] which they would be paid. The visitors from other villages often began arriving soon after the initial announcement was made.

796 The dance itself took place about nine o'clock on one evening only; it was never given in the daytime. The dancers were usually, but not necessarily, residents of the host village. Two to four men participated, and one woman, who was always a relative -- daughter, sister or cousin -- of at least one of her men companions, although the men need not be related. The one prerequisite was that they all, as well as having Bear as a family totem, had dreamed of the animal. (I am not sure how essential the dream was for the woman.)

796
[237] The men wore whole bearskins attached to themselves with thongs. (At another time J.P. said the male dancers wore bear-paw skins pulled on over their hands like mittens.) Bear-claw necklaces were worn, and sometimes flicker-feather bands were tied like streamers from the arms. The woman dancer merely wore her "best clothes" -- deerskin apron, beads, down head-

²⁶⁹This major account and accompanying demonstration are from H. and J.P.; other accounts follow.

796 M.L.'s description of the Bear Dance was essentially the same. She was a participant along with her relatives -- her mother, mother's sister, her younger sister (cousin) and brother (cousin?) -- of whom her mother's brother, Tai'sus, was the leader. The chief at Diapnuša would send his winatum to Taisus saying it was time to hold the dance [ig].

796 The male dancers wore whole bearskins fastened on their backs, but held nothing in their hands. The women merely wore the usual deerskin apron, ear plugs, etc., of dress occasions, and carried bunches of crow feathers in their hands. At one side were two singers [534] who used rattles made of stiff deer hide tied over the end of a stick and containing a few pebbles. This type was used for no other dance.

The men held up their hands and, taking three hops forward, said "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The women made no sound, but remained in one place with feather bunches raised, making little lifting motions with their heels.

796 Meanwhile the singers sang. Two of their songs follow:

- 533
539 1. so'nowau n:m luka'omao
storehouse my [place name]

(My storehouse is at Lukaomao)

2. wa'šo wa'ha'so hu'še'me-hu
small basket small basket [futurity]

wa'šo ukun hus:m ŋohō'ō na hus:m
small basket drink [futurity] Bear I
[futurity]

(I, Bear, will drink from my little acorn
mush basket)

796 No matter how much the spectators wished to see the dance repeated, it could be done but once on each occasion; "they had to wait till next year."

The Yaudanchi probably had the same dance, as Kroeber attributes it to them and to the Choinimni.²⁷⁰

[302] ...The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a headband of eagle down and a claw necklace, or a skin around the loins that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. Gradually the dancers jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe. [237]

The Yaudanchi informant, M.S. of Moko village, categorically denied the Bear Dance

²⁷⁰Handbook, 517.

[P. 122b] Wu Kichunwi

796 displays appear to be the kernel of the cere-
756 mony, which ends toward morning by the perform-
ing shamans "fighting" one another magically.

Another display dance was mentioned by M.L. in which she danced with her shaman uncle Taisus. They sang song No. 5 (p.118), and then the shaman "made a mudhen come and fall in the fire."

Rattlesnake Ritual

796 From no informant was I able to obtain a
[825] description of the Rattlesnake Ritual which in
any way approximates that given by Kroeber for
the Yaudanchi.²⁷² It was one of the native
rites most frowned upon by missionaries and
white settlers and has not been performed, even
aberrantly, for many years. The reader is re-
ferred to Kroeber for a full account. My own
summary and, in a few instances, supplementary
data are given below. The only major differ-
ences in these are the absence of any "shaman-
killer" (given as kuyohoch, obviously confused
with hi'uta), and the presence of the Coyote
clown, not mentioned in this connection by
Kroeber.

This ritual, called šo'no, was made in the
spring of each year, about April, always just
prior to the snakes' emergence from their
winter hibernation.

224 One of the participants at Diapnuša was
J.P.'s maternal uncle, so J.P. went with him
when he got his snake; both had snake poša.
They went up to a rocky ledge on Diapnuša hill;
J.P. sat down and watched. The uncle had with
[534] him a flat tray (koiyošo), a bird-bone whistle
237 (wa'had or šo'ho), hawk down, a small stick,
a long pole, and a willow cage (šo'm:š). The
tray, its surface covered with hawk down, was
laid on the ground in front of the snake den.
A rattlesnake came out and circled once around
the tray. Uncle did not like it and told it to
go back. Another came out. This was repeated
six times. Each snake had taken one little
piece of down. When the sixth and satisfactory
snake came, it would not take a feather. Then
Uncle told it to take one and it did. Then he
circled his little stick over the snake's head.
When it coiled, the tray was inverted over it,
covering it with down. Uncle then picked up
the snake in his hand, putting it in the wicker
cage. He talked to it continually, telling it
where it was going, that it was to participate
in the Snake Ritual, and that it must not bite
anyone. The cage was put on the end of the
pole, and J.P. was allowed to carry it home.
There it was hung in a tree until wanted.

796 The ritual was held in the afternoon in
the village dance space. A vertical-sided pit

²⁷² Ibid., 504-506.

[P. 123 a] Wukchunvi

796 was dug, a log laid across it, and the doctors put their snakes in it. Two singers were present to sing "snake songs." Then the assembled onlookers walked to the pit, dipped a heel in the pit as they crossed the log, and threw in some money. The doctors did not participate in the "stepping rite."

796 While the doctors were doing their preliminary dancing before picking up their
522 snakes, Coyote clowns came upon the scene.
237 There might be one or two of these, usually a
[613] brother and sister (or first cousins) of a Coyote lineage. The man wore a coyote-skin costume on his back, the head of which was so arranged that the nose was pulled far down over his own. He was painted with black about the eyes and mouth. An artificial tail M.L. could not say how this was made, but it was not the coyote-skin tail was extended from his buttocks. This he could jerk about with obscene gestures. He carried a long stick.

796 Approaching the snake pit, he would run up and pretend to strike the reptiles. He would pretend the snake had bitten him, groan lavishly, and mimic the snake doctors' motions. When he became too boisterous, the chief would send his winatum with money to make him keep quiet. He would get in people's way, knocking about awkwardly with his long stick: people would pay him to desist. Then he would seize his sister (or cousin), pull her up to the snake pit, and there lie down with her pretending to have intercourse. This caused the greatest amusement, as the incestuous implication added to the impropriety. When the clown pretended to be bitten by a snake, his sister would rush up to him and burlesque the curing-by-brushing motions of *pipni* people.

[786] At Diapnuša it was M.L.'s son-in-law, his father, and father's sister who were of the Coyote lineage and performed the Coyote antics. M.L. had seen the same thing once at Dunlap where there were also male and female clowns; one of the women was probably J.W., a Wobonuch.

796 The doctors, of whom there were usually three or four, walked in line around the pit, followed by a group of boys and young men carrying sticks and singing. Each doctor took his snake from the pit and danced with it. First the head of the snake was held in the left hand, the tail in the right. A step left was taken, and the arms were extended a little upward and outward to the left. Then a step to the right was taken. At the same time, the right hand released the snake's tail, while the left, holding the head, passed the reptile behind the dancer's neck, where it was taken into the right hand. And with left hand now gripping the tail, the arms were extended upward and outward. The snake was now passed from right to left back of the neck. These two movements, complementing each other, were repeated over and over as the doctors filed around the pit, followed by the crowd of boys.

769 would be on the third day if on the fourth there was to be a preliminary or informal contest between shamans, as was usual if the ceremony was a large and impressive one. Otherwise the Huhuna Dance was reserved for the fourth day and "nothing special" happened on the third other than the morning and evening singing and display of dolls and gifts. J.P. said that the Huhuna Dance might be given any day and repeated, from the very outset, if people wanted it, but certainly this was not the customary practice. The Huhuna Dance could be performed at any time out of its ceremonial context and was a favorite method for both entertainment and money-making at any season of the year.

M.L. gave the following account; in so doing she particularly had in mind a performance at a mourning ceremony given by her father-in-law, Muṭoñi, at Diapnuša. A few interpolations are from J.P.

769
535
[13] A Huhuna Dancer was not a shaman (aṇtu) (although he might be) but had Owl (hutu'du) for a family totem. M.L. thought this "went in families but had to be dreamed about as well" (as being the family emblem). She thought all tribes had the dance. Although it was a regular part of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, "it could be done at any other time if a man wanted to make some money or other people wanted to see it." The shaman who entered at the end might be "any kind," provided he had the power of making airshot. M.L.'s stepfather, who took part in the dance at Diapnuša, was a Rattlesnake shaman. A Huhuna of any tribe could engage in the affair during the mourning ceremony, i.e., he was not necessarily of the reciprocal (gu'uil) tribe. But the killing shaman was always of the host or local tribe. The usual costume consisted of an ankle-length, sleeveless dress of netting covered with eagle, crow, buzzard, and o'owats (?) feathers. On the back were little sticks painted red and so strung together that they rattled as the wearer danced. A headdress of netting covered with owl feathers had two little peaks to resemble an owl's head. The eyes were not covered, although J.P. and S.G. said that abalone shell discs were sewed over the eyes on a net which covered the face. On each wrist hung a swinging bunch of feathers (so'n.l). The man held an eagle bone whistle in his mouth, and in each hand carried a slender rod about eighteen inches long (fig. 8, c).

At this dance at Diapnuša two Yokod men were the Muhunata (pl.). They went off to opposite sides of the village to don their costumes. While they were gone, money provided by the local chief was hidden in various spots around the assembly space -- in a sack of acorns, in the crevice of a shade, or in the ground.

One or more singers accompanied the dancing performance.

[P. 1306] Wukchunwi

769 the effigies and all their treasures at the reciprocants who scrambled and fought over them. Whatever anyone seized was his. After this the dolls were stripped by the gu'ui who threw the frames on the fire: this was their duty. Sometimes more or less worthless objects were thrown with them. But anything so dispatched to the fire might be snatched out by another reciprocant.

Ritual Washing

769 By this time dawn had come, and the reciprocants went to eat breakfast and prepare for the later feasting while the mourners again retired. Then the reciprocants' winatums got baskets of water which they took to the assembly space where the washing families had come with their supply of new clothing for the bereaved. The water baskets had been especially made for the occasion; they were coiled, large, deep, and flaring (pl. 1, top center). Those the Waksachi (and other Western Mono) provided always had somewhat peculiar patterns which no other baskets carried.

[285
171] The winatums called the mourners and, these being allotted by families as explained above, the ritual cleansing proceeded. Members of the same sex washed each other. For these true or deep mourners the washing of body and hair was complete, the washee, stripped to the breechclout, standing beside the basket and being swabbed down with wads of shredded willow bark dipped in the water. Fresh water and soap-root were used for washing the hair which was then dried, brushed, and trimmed with bangs. [301] The new clothing, including a new breechclout, was donned. Ornaments such as ear plugs, necklaces, and headbands were added. [465
431] The washers were each paid a small sum (about 25 cents) and given presents of baskets by the washees. Then all persons of the mourning tribe had their faces washed by members at large of the reciprocant tribe. They all stood in a long line for this service. The washers each received about five cents (in bead money) for this.

[522
613] During the washing and dressing at least two men of the Coyote lineage came in clowning. [237] They wore coyote skins on their heads and backs, with the snouts stiffened out and with artificial tails attached. They carried seeds which they threw all around [the purpose of this I could not discover], got in people's way, knocked over the baskets of washing water, and were chased about by the winatums.

769 Then a feast was held, the main dish of which was deer meat, for this was the end of the meat tabu for the bereaved. The reciprocant chief made a speech telling everyone to come partake of this feast, the mourners to enjoy their meat, etc. After the feast the host chief made a speech saying that now their sorrow was dissipated, that everyone should

[P. 147b] Choinimni

OCCASION

482 ally a basket cap was worn under the tumpine
[B54] to ease the pressure, as was sometimes done
when carrying a heavy child in a cradle.¹¹

534 Musical instruments.---The elderwood flute
(u'tač) had four holes. Not many men could
play it; P.D.W. thought one had to dream about
it to become really adept. Two Choinimni ex-
perts at Kulušao were Kudu'ma and La'hai'yi.
Samson Dick (Ya'ki) is the only person living
now who can play well.¹² The hawk shinbone
whistle (pu'sač) was held in the mouth while
the musician executed dance steps. This kind
of whistling is called wušinuha'o, the term
applied to ordinary (European) whistling with
pursed lips. The elderwood clapper (ta wal)
was used for most ceremonial accompaniments,
the cocoon rattle (sa'nač) being reserved ex-
clusively for doctor's shamanistic dancing and
for the Bear Dance.

Beating upon a hollow log is reported by
Mayfield.

302 A short musical bow, twanged upon while
[198] one end was held in the mouth, was heard by
Mayfield. Whistling, he said, was used only
for signaling.¹³

533 The singers who accompanied dancing were
called ale'k'ič; the act of singing, or songs,
s'ikaš.

302 Paint.---White paint (ho'sot) was a clay
386 "dug up in the swamps around here" (i.e., at
[431] the edge of the foothills toward Centerville).
Red paint (hu'iyu) was got in trade from the
Eastern Mono. Black paint (wa'wen) was of un-
known source. All these paints were lumpy; in
preparation they were ground or rubbed down on
a rock, then mixed with grease and applied with
the fingers. P.D.W. insists that there were no
distinctive totemic paint patterns. White
paint, crudely smeared, was worn on a doctor's
arms and body when he was dancing.

276 Pipes.---A pipe of wood (elderwood) was
called a'tsi. P.D.W.'s pipe, the typical
Yokuts pipe, was about 3 inches long, about
5/16 of an inch in diameter at the base and
1/2 inch at the outer end. The hollowing for
the "bowl" was about 1/4 inch in diameter, and
held but a small pinch of tobacco. Only one or
two puffs were taken, perhaps twice a day. A
pipe of clay was called sa'kmai; these were not
common.¹⁴ The other common form, comparable to
the wood pipe, was called si'kil (cane) from
the cane which was obtained for this and for
arrow-making from the Alticha; no cane grew up
in the hills, said P.D.W. The cane pipe was
3-6 inches long and was often carried behind

¹¹Ibid., 23, 40.

[578] ¹²This man, who was at outs with most of his neighbors
at Dunlap in 1927, refused repeated requests to become an
informant. Other Indians apologized for his unwillingness,
although his refusals were made with the greatest tact.

¹³Letts, op. cit., 25.

¹⁴Mayfield claimed he had seen no clay or stone pipes
of the Choinimni (ibid., 21).

756 prayed to and dreamed about. Tobacco (šo'gen)
787 was eaten with lime and vomited to stimulate
276 dreaming. Anyone could do this who wanted to;
[237] P.D.W. denied ever using tobacco this way, a
denial which seemed doubtful. Eagle down was
scattered at sacred moments at certain springs,
probably when prayers were being made.²³

756 Doctors cut and sucked when curing. If
the patient did not improve, the practitioner
danced, called on his dream helper (anatsiwal),
and dreamed for further power. Sickness was
[754] caused by intrusion; a bad shaman could send
something into one; this might be an insect,
or some small object, or the "airshot" (toi'yea)
which they were said to manufacture.

753 Ghosts frequently caused sickness called
755 hoču'nač. The spirit of some dead man would
775 catch a victim after dark and insert a long
hair in his forehead. To cure this a doctor
cut at the end of the nose and sucked, with
long audible inhalations and rapid brief ex-
halations. The hair he extracted might be "as
long as your arm."

A malicious ghost could even make one
crazy (ale'ta), an ailment which doctors could
not cure. P.D.W. said he "saw that tried once
at Squaw Valley" but the attempt failed.

754 Poison (ta'wats, dead person?) was dif-
ferentiated from airshot, but P.D.W. was
"afraid of that and didn't want to talk about
it." As elsewhere, the source of poisoning
[668] was attributed to southern doctors. "After
that [the Ghost Dance] the Tule River doctors
got mad when they got home. They danced all
one night and made poison. People got sick
all around."

755 An anecdote of P.D.W.'s curing was re-
lated by J.A., the Chunut, who was herself
cured of headaches by another Choinimni doctor,
Senti'wis.

About 1927 a Choinimni woman suffered from
an abdominal ailment; she dreamed she should be
cut approximately over the uterus. She went
home to have P.D.W. do it. When he cut and
sucked, "he got out nothing but blood" [i.e.,
no intrusive object], and the woman has con-
tinued to grow worse. Some people, for this
reason, doubt his abilities, others have faith
in his power. J.A. implied, however, that
P.D.W. himself claimed no special skill.

The other Choinimni doctor, Senti'wis (Bob
of Bobtown), was visiting at Dunlap and could
not be interviewed. In curing J.A. of head-
aches he sucked out a "little white pointed
thing" from a cut at each eyebrow. His own
daughter had a pneumonialike sickness attrib-
uted to her eating of raw, cold gooseberries
shortly after giving birth to an infant.

²³Latta, op. cit., 38.

[P. 157 a] DUMPA

756 Of doctors, he said that in earlier times
754 no doctor was bad because he feared "that the
people would get mad and kill him" [the state-
ment itself indicates that there were evil
doctors and that they were killed]. A bad
doctor "had all kinds of poison; if he got mad
he sent this at you." Such projection of
poison could kill trees: a shaman would hit
one and the following year it would be seared
and dead.

A good doctor did not take money unless
he was sure of curing his patient. If he was
unsuccessful, he was expected to return the fee.
[Naturally there must have been much difficulty
in defining a cure in many types of sickness.]

796 A shaman's display dance was usually done
756 outside. If such a performance were scheduled,
and it rained, the shaman took one or two
singers and went into a dwelling house (sam:s),
not into the sweat house (mos). As many spec-
tators as could crowded in to watch him. This
dance was probably comparable to the kam: B.W.
could neither name nor describe it.

There was a prophetic and curing dance
called mi'y:n wa'ti: to'se ("the to-tell
dance") performed by several doctors. Some-
times as many as five doctors participated at
once. People assembled at a big fire in the
early evening. The doctors were there with
their singers and winatums. Persons already
ill were brought in and disposed near the fire.
The doctors danced while the singers sang.
Then they told who was going to be sick. They
had a big basket of water [each had?] in which
they dipped their hand feathers (wača'm), and
brushed off the patients and the "patients-
elect." "They blew the sickness away before it
came." Onlookers would say, "Wihe'let a'mam
hača'ka'š" ("doctoring-process him [does]
good"). "A big doctor knew everything, espec-
ially about sickness that was far away. If we
had those doctors now they could stop this flu
[epidemic] we've been having."

755 The doctoring activities of the Choinimni,
P.D.W., were witnessed and experienced by B.W.
While doctoring B.W., P.D.W. sat in front of
him. He could see the sickness. He sang:

oyo'wī ki'ka
ha'na-na-
tē'pī nī'hī tī (t:pni)

(B.W. could not translate it; thought it meant
he was asking t:pni to help him.) P.D.W. sang
this over continuously before and while he was
cutting at painful spots. "A doctor could do
nothing without singing to his t:pni." The in-
cisions were made with a piece of glass and the
"sickness" sucked out. P.D.W.'s curing outfit
consisted of the glass, magpie and owl feathers,
and a weasel (?) head ornamented with beads.
The day following this treatment B.W. "got up
and walked all around" [cured].

[P. 162 b] Kechayi

302

192

386

822

who "wanted to fix up for dances." It was associated with the Tokelyuwich moiety.

hu'iyu: red. This doctors bought from the Western Mono; the Eastern Mono were the ultimate source. It was the Nutuwich color.

sa'lu: black. Charcoal.

wa wun: green (called blue by a Wobonuch informant). It is said to have been introduced by the Paiute who brought the Ghost Dance.

302

616

Face patterns E.M. could not describe beyond this statement: that the Tokelyuwich covered the face with white and added two vertical stripes of green (black in earlier times?), and that the Nutuwich merely used red horizontal stripes.⁵⁴ She added that the Tokelyuwich sometimes put white horizontal streaks across their upper arms (but see sweat house dance). Shamans were the usual owners and traders of paint.

436

Money.---Values for clamshell disc beads were: once around the hand without crossing the wrist, 25 cents; five times around the hand, \$5.00. This is incongruous, of course (see fig. 14, c, Pt. I).

802

192

Numeral system.---The usual Yokuts numeral system, based on 10, was used by Kechayi, Gashowu, and Dumna. E.M. gave the following Kechayi count:

1. yet	14. ha'čpam
2. po'noi	15. y'čam
3. so'p'in	16. co'lipop
4. hatpa'nal	17. no'mcom
5. y'č'nal	18. mu'nčum
6. co'lipi	19. no'mpom
7. nu'mč'in	20. pono'i te'yiu
8. mo'noš	21. pono'i teyao yet
9. no'nip	22. pono'i teyao pono'i
10. te'yao	23. pono'i teyao so'p'in,
11. y'čam	etc.
12. bo'čtōp	100. yet pi'ča
13. so'pi'op	1000. yet mi'la (Sp.)

GAMES

526

[616]

Shinny.---This game (ko'n:č). was played by both sexes. The sticks and ball were of "some hard wood." Usually there were three people on each side; moiety opposition functioned when the game was played at mourning ceremonies. The Kechayi played the game around the turning post, which was not struck or aimed at.

Tossed hoop and pole.---E.M. had not seen this game (ha'lao) played; she had "just heard the old people talk about it."

[537]

Football.---For this game (i'wač) two posts were set up about one hundred feet apart. A ball of deerskin stuffed with grass was kicked and scuffed along the ground between two opponents. They pushed each other vigorously to maintain possession of the ball. They started from one post, went in a circuit around the

⁵⁴cf. Gifford, *Miwok Moieties*, 146.

[P. 165 a] Kechay

616 Nutuwich come first in everything. That's why the Tokelyuwich call them 'coyote'. The Tokelyuwich are slow." Thus in a household like E.M.'s, where she herself was Nutuwich but her mother was Tokelyuwich, E.M. could go after the new seeds as they ripened, whereas her mother had to wait and, along with other Tokelyuwich women, take what was left. The Nutuwich [men] knocked down the acorns, but the Tokelyuwich [women] picked them up. When the Nutuwich danced, they used fast steps; the Tokelyuwich danced lethargically. Dogs were given one of two names: tapa 'liš, if they belonged to Nutuwich people, wu 'isu, if owned by Tokelyuwich. Whether these modes of behavior are part of a generalized larger moiety pattern or whether they were special cultural idiosyncrasies, so to say, with no abstract motivation behind them, it was impossible for E.M. to convey.⁶²

[552] Redemption of totem animals.--When an eagle was killed, all the Tokelyuwich people put in some money to pay for it. The feathers were removed. A shaman kept the head, which was ornamented with beads to keep as a supernatural talisman. The legs were made into whistles. The carcass was buried. (E.M. did not know the details of this, how the ritual actually operated.)

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[237] A Nutuwich man, Či'pít, the paternal grandfather of E.M., raised a pair of eaglets until they were able to fly. Then they were put in a willow cage and an assembly called. Tokelyuwich people came from other villages, even from Koko hup (Sycamore). They all contributed money, which Či'pít received, and took the birds. As the visitors returned homeward, the birds were passed to the more easterly travelers; when the most eastern had reached home, the birds were released.

When a Tokelyuwich person killed a bear (a Nutuwich, of course, would not), it was redeemed by the Nutuwich moiety. All the Nutuwich contributed a little money, but the bear-killer was the only Tokelyuwich who received it. E.M. was uncertain what became of the bear hide and what was done with the carcass. [307] Any Nutuwich person could wear a bear-claw necklace. It seems probable that a bear dancer would obtain one.

Pets

231 Eaglets were raised sometimes, and sold to Tokelyuwich people.

A falcon (ya'yil) was kept, in a specific instance known to E.M. The bird was captured alive by He'čad [moiety?] who "gave it to an-

[177] ⁶²Comparable attitudes and behaviors are recorded for some Southern Californian moieties (cf. Gifford, Clans and Moieties in Southern California, 178, 192).

[P. 166 b] Kachayi

846 After the birth occurred, the mother drank only warm acorn soup (li'man) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu'kin) for two months.

[843] The father was not under any tabus during pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

[841] There was no separate hut for birth or
343 menses.

844 At the time of birth a girl's own mother or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this point). A bear claw was soaked in water and the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier. A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam-shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

854 When the baby was born its paternal grand-
[603] father brought the first cradle (bi'lič), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.⁶⁵ The baby remained on this for two months, at the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ah'lič), and the mother was cleansed.

846 When the navel stump fell off it was put in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the child left the cradle, the stump was removed from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 At the end of two months the baby was put on its second cradle, and received a name
553 selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.⁶⁶ At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

844 The food and working tabus for both
846 parents were observed only for the first child. But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

845 Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

⁶⁵The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[611] ⁶⁶A rule more of theory than of practice, as the genealogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on the male line.

[P. 172 b] Kechayi

796 ornaments they possessed. The women wore
756 eagle-down bands around their heads, necklaces
535 of humna beads, double deerskin aprons, and
[616] carried hand feathers (son:l) (fig. 8, b, Pt.I).
All wore moiety face paint patterns, but these
E.M. could not describe.

At first the shamans stood to one side
dancing, each with a woman directly behind him.
Then the six men filed in and danced around the
fire, the doctors and women remaining in one
place near it. The men used the "piston-rod"
step, the women a hop with feet placed close
[535] together. The songs for this dance were from
a special cycle which was not used on other oc-
casions, but what they were about E.M. could
not say.

535 Sweat house dance.--This dance (mosla 'os-
[343] aho) is called by the name because it starts in
the sweat house (mos) and is continued outside.
756 So far as E.M. knew there was no distinction in
the nature of the performance inside and out.
"The dance was started inside and then went
outside where everyone could see because Eagle
told the dancers they must dance indoors be-
fore going out" (see "Shaman's debut"). This
dance was done at any time of the year.

The performers were shamans and two female
dancers who might be of either moiety. The
women were Si lat and Wajil:t (the corpse-
[237] handler) (E.M.'s aunt). Besides the usual
breechclout and deerskin apron, the dancers
wore long strands of eagle-down rope wrapped
around their waists, arms, and heads. The head-
535 band was a very wide one. Tokelyuwich parti-
756 cipants were supposed to look like Eagle; their
302 faces were painted solid red with white dots
616 scattered over it and three horizontal white
stripes on their cheeks. The Nutuwich dancers
had red faces with black spots, and a black
area all around the mouth. Men and women were
painted alike.

The only women who saw the dancing start
in the sweat house were the women participants.
People crowded around, not all could get in,
and "the women were too bashful to push in."

535 Bear Dance.--This dance was called no''an
796 ka'ma. Two Kechayi (Dumna?) brothers, Go'h:l
and To'e'wus, had power from Bear (noho'in
t:pni). They were not regarded as doctors,
just men with a specific kind of supernatural
power. Their dance was obviously comparable
in its brevity, in its bearlike steps, and its
winter (?) schedule, to that of the Wukchumni
[184] Bear Dance, but unlike it in its fire-handling
display and in its lack of relation to the
acorn crop.

The dance was done in the winter. Bear
would tell the dancer to go far back in the
mountains. There two bears would come to him
during the night and hug him to protect him
from the severe cold. He stayed out two nights
and danced by himself. Then when he came in he
danced publicly at night. Later the informant

[P. 173 a] Kechay:

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796 said this was danced at any ceremony if asked for.

● [237] E.M. saw Goh:l and another Bear dancer named Jo'n:š do the dance. They wore the vertical feather šu on their heads, bear paws on their chests. The whole bear skin was not used. Brown paint covered their faces, and black was put around or over the upper lip "to look like Bear," and covered their arms and bodies. The dance lasted two nights. On the first, they took turns: one sang while the other danced and vice versa. On the second, they both sang and danced together. There was no change in dress or dancing on the second night. The cocoon rattle (ša'naš) was used in accompaniment. The actual dance was very short, "like bears dance," with a sort of jumping step. It was done twice only by each performer. Then they pretended to dance into the fire and frightened people. They turned into bears as they danced, but Čokonik's daughter, who sometimes danced with them, did not undergo transformation.

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789 E.M. said Goh:l turned into a bear sometimes, and Tewus, his brother, was "much worse." He transformed himself and danced around the fire and "went around the country scaring people." (See anecdotes about Hal'hai'š, another Bear dancer.)

796 Coyote dancing.---At some time during pleasure dances or entertainments, or after the ritual washing at a mourning ceremony, a character representing Coyote gave a clownish performance. E.M. did not remember the name of any man who did this, but said he must have been of the Nutuwich moiety. A coyote skin, cured with the fur on, was fastened on his back, with the head at his head, and tail at his buttocks. Paint was applied to his face and body "any way just to be funny." His antics included yowling like a coyote, jumping about, grabbing food, mimicking the spokesman, and making obscene advances toward young girls.

796 Beaver Dance.---E.M. had heard of a dance done "before her day" over at Owo'niu. The doctors made fish with red heads appear; these, however, could be seen only by other doctors. The shaman making this ceremony "danced half the night. When the power was coming it made them suffer." 73

Seed-crop prophesying.---This E.M. saw Čokonik do at a Gashowu village. It was done day or night at any time of year. The doctor danced around the public fire and told what kind of seed, clover, and acorn crops would come. There was no demonstration of seed-growing or of plants: "he just told what his power showed him." This performance was supposed to benefit the crops for the coming season.

789 Rain-making.---A doctor from Kings River was able to make rain, but E.M. had "just heard

⁷³cf. the woman participant who "groaned" in the Wak-chumi Beaver Dance.

[P. 1749] Kechayi

- 796 around" before falling unconscious. Some persons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve narcosis. As each person fell he was carried into the shade. Winatums watched them to see that they did not injure themselves as they grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began to mumble, they made grabbing motions with their hands, they would not keep still. They saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing. [755] The effects wore off in about one week, [262] but all participants remained on an acorn soup (lim:n) diet for twelve days. [57] Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

- 769 The chief set the date for this ceremony (lumi 'sa) twelve days before it was to take place. His winatum went around to announce it, [624] particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe (gi-'i) which, for the Kechayi, was always the Poagisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the moieties combined in this affair, which was primarily tribal. The Choinimni were gi-'i for the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account). [616]

The ceremonial activities lasted for six days. Every morning and evening the mourners went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Poagisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (ta'ow'e ano 'sa) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna [guksal], Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Gugu'sia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

- [237] Huhuna.--This character [Gugusia] was dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A net covered his face and head, on which, over his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs. He carried a stick in each hand. By means of his supernatural power he found hidden money.

- 769 He came into the dance space, circled about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As 781 Gugu'sia approached him he "shot" with "airshot" by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum carried the unconscious Gugu'sia to one side. Everyone wept, and the women present filed past the prostrate form throwing money and seeds over it. Then the shaman revived Gugu'sia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Čuku ya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

- 769 Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M. 786 could not or would not describe this coherently. The reticence may have been due to the fact

[P. 188 b] Chuckchans:

352 The top was bound with the water plant
531 root. About four inches from the top was a
854 horizontal band, woven with monoxil, indicating
831 the sex of the child: a boy had a zigzag or
arrowhead design, a girl contiguous diamonds.¹⁰⁵
Sometimes red or black roots were woven into
designs across the bottom; these, too, showed
the sex of the occupant.

352 The first cradle had a band hoop extend-
531 ing forward over the infant's head. There were
854 no fastenings for a tumpline, because a new
baby was not carried on the back, but in the
arms. "They were afraid to carry a new baby on
the back because its eyes might fall out," said
N.W., laughing. Also it would have flabby
hanging cheeks.

352 The baby was held in place on the cradle
531 by means of a milkweed string band about two
854 inches wide which passed through loops along
the cradle sides. For a young baby lying on
its back, the band was not drawn very tight;
[337] for an older one carried upright, the lashing
prevented movement of any kind. Under the lash-
ing the baby lay wrapped in a rabbitkin
blanket. Today a little pillow, mattress, or a
cloth baby blanket are used on the cradle under
the infant. A child was kept on a cradle until
it could walk and talk. Confinement in the
cradle is not continued as long as formerly:
Lillian thought children remain babyish if kept
in the cradle too long.¹⁰⁶

As the baby grew it was transferred to
second and third cradles, the last being some
thirty-five inches long. All were of the same
construction as the first save that the hood
was fan-shaped, not a mere hoop. On a Chuk-
chansi cradle seen by Thrall, the head was
woven as an integral part of the supporting
hoop. The upper or back edge of the fan had
corners which were merely tied to the top edge
of the frame with milkweed string. Large
[402] cradles had a tumpline attached for carriage
on the mother's back.

The larger cradles were kept after the
child had outgrown them and, as long as they
were in good repair, were used for younger in-
fants of the proper sex. An infant girl would
not be put on an older brother's former cradle,
or vice versa.

¹⁰⁵Parallel diagonal lines signified a boy's cradle, zig-
zag a girl's, says Kroeber (Handbook, 536). Miss Thrall's
information is in line with that from other Yokuts.--A.H.G.

¹⁰⁶Miss Thrall has notes on the treatment of N.W. "He was
teething and fretful, consequently he woke frequently, when
he would be taken up in the cradle, bounced on the knee,
and a general attempt made to soothe him. Lillian usually
held him when not otherwise occupied. Sometimes Nancy (his
grandmother), or Emma, or other older girls take over when
Lillian must go elsewhere. Whenever the baby shows he is
unhappy, he gets all the attention the older people can
think of to give him, apparently. On the other hand, one
attempt to quiet him is to put him back on the cradle soon
after taking him up, or when he cries in arms. This seemed
to have no effect, and frequently he was taken off again
at once."

[P. 190 a] Chuckchansi

412 ment. -- A.H.G.] The plastic material for the
322 handle was taken from another uncooked root.

515 Soaproot was used to wash the hair, head,
baskets, etc., said J.R. (Since skin clothing
hardened when wet, it was not washed.) The
root, when pounded, exuded a soapy juice which
was then mixed with water as a washing fluid
which lathered. The fibres were saved for
brushes. J.R. added that, when the bulb was
roasted, it was "just like roasting potatoes."
[262] [The inference is that some varieties of soap-
252] root were pit-cooked and eaten as by other
171] Yokuts, Miwok, Pomo, etc. -- A.H.G.]

415 Mushstirrers were made of green chaparral
322 [Ceanothus?], heated and bent into shape, tied
with milkweed string at the neck of the loop
and at the ends of the handle. Total length,
as seen by Thrall, a bit over two feet. A pair
of straight sticks some four feet long were
used like tongs on hot cooking stones.

415 Cooking stones were made of soapstone,
324 said M.W.; she called these pako'yun or halix.
They were heated and dropped in acorn mush to
cook it. Plain stones broke when so used and
"spoiled the food."

[412 Soapstone dishes (approximately 6 in. in
322] diameter, 2 in. deep, with walls 1 in. thick)
were made by the Chukchansi. They were used
for cooking larvae and worms.¹¹⁰
Wooden mortars were known to the Chuk-
chansi, says Kroeber.¹¹¹

323 The absence of pottery agrees with pre-
vious findings of Kroeber and Gayton.¹¹²

411 Weapons.--Plain and sinew-backed bows were
made by Chukchansi (and Miwok). The sinew-
backed bow was of cedar, about three feet long.
Deer sinew from each side of the backbone,
about 18 inches long, was glued on the back of
the bow. The sinews had been kept dried for
[237] this purpose. Once on the bow, it was never
permitted to get wet. The bowstring was al-
ways sinew. Nevertheless, the bow was kept
outside the house, according to J.R., but al-
ways unstrung when not in use. This type of
bow was for hunting large game -- deer, bear,
cougar, coyote, wildcat -- and for warfare.

A plain bow of mountain willow, four feet
long and strung with a milkweed string, was
used for everyday shooting of squirrels,
gophers, rabbits, and birds. The informant
J.R. maintained that the same type of arrow was
used with either bow. [Doubtless the same
arrow could be used, but it is unlikely that
only one arrow type was used. Moreover, the
flat bird arrow is mentioned in a Chukchansi
myth. -- A.H.G.]

¹¹⁰Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 527.

¹¹¹Ibid., 528.

¹¹²Ibid., 537; Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-
Making.

[P. 1926] Chuckchansi

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medicine. A shaman's help was never sought for abortion.

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Some women had a child every year. Of twelve or thirteen births only "one, maybe six, maybe nine" would live to become adults. Some died in infancy, a disaster blamed on evil shamans.

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There were few cases of sterility: "most people who married had children; some didn't."

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Birth took place in the dwelling, not in a special structure, said N.W. Normally, the woman's mother and sister or an aunt helped her; her mother-in-law might also do so. No men nor childless women were allowed in a house where a birth was taking place. [The birth procedure was not described.]

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If parturition was difficult, scrapings from a bear's claw were put in water for the woman to drink, and the decoction was also rubbed on her head and hands. N.W. said this was "better than a doctor." It was a common practice; the scrapings might be got at any time from someone who had killed a bear and would then be kept on hand for use as needed. J.R. said that when a bear was killed some man, not a shaman, would get a claw. He would keep it, hang it up to dry, until it was needed to help some woman in childbirth. If labor was unduly delayed, the claw would be got, scraped into a basket of water. The parturient drank this decoction, and immediately the baby came. It was thought that the bear-claw drink so frightened the infant that it came out at once. This medicine was never used for any other purpose.

Another method to help difficult labor was to hold scorched whippoorwill feathers (wul wul, whippoorwill) under the woman's nose.¹¹⁹

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The baby was bathed at once in wormwood water. The first cradle was not ready, but was started as soon as the paternal grandmother got the baby's size. The cradle-making took about three days. The umbilical cord was buried.¹²⁰

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Naming.—"It was one year or so, sometimes longer, before a young couple had their first baby. There were more children then [in old times] than now," said N.W. Neither sex was preferred.

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The infant was named shortly after birth, according to N.W., and kept that name throughout life. The paternal grandmother usually selected the name, which would be one from the father's side of the family. If the person for

[824]

¹¹⁹The bird, later identified as whippoorwill, was described as follows. "It is a brown bird a little smaller than a pigeon, but with a big mouth. The color is like dirt; you don't see it. It swallowed a deer once. It is speckled white, just a little. It has short legs. When it flies it makes a noise like wul-will (d d d). It doesn't make a whirring noise with its wings when it starts to fly but is silent like other birds. It flies in the evening, not much in the day. It has black legs and beak. It stands 5 inches or so tall."

¹²⁰Kroeber, Handbook, 499.

[P. 1936] Chuckchawsi

846 women relatives of the man's family did the
852 same for the wife's attendants (mother and
783 sister) who had been in the shelter with her.
Then the man's mother gave the washing baskets
to the wife's mother, who poured out the liquid
and took them home. At the same time the man's
mother was presented with a large gift basket
filled with the acorn mush which the wife's
mother had prepared in the steaming shelter.
This the man's mother took away to eat with her
visitors.

[292] After the bath the young mother was
arrayed in all her finery. She wore a deer-
skin apron, and strings of beads around her
waist, neck, and forehead. On her wrists she
had bracelets of rabbit skin [sic; probably a
[825] more valued fur, possibly even weasel or otter
[237] skin to prevent magic intrusion of sickness. --
A.H.G.J.). The two women relatives of the girl
were also dressed in their best. It is not
stated that the girl's mother-in-law provided
the girl's attire, though such was normally
Yokuts custom.

Then the paternal grandmother bathed the
baby with wormwood liquid. The maternal grand-
mother received the washing basket. Like his
mother, the infant was dressed in ornaments.
He was shown to all the visitors.

431 A further exchange of gifts took place.
846 The young mother's family had assembled quanti-
852 ties of acorn meal, seeds, manzanita berries,
783 etc., while the young father's family had pro-
vided meat and baskets. The paternal and ma-
ternal grandmothers then told each other that
they had these gifts, and to go get them and
take them home.¹²¹

Then feasting commenced around the two
families' fires, which were not far apart. The
young mother's family entertained all her rela-
tives and friends who had come to celebrate
with her, while her husband's family did the
same for him. The young man's family feasted
on the acorn meal provided by his wife's family,
while the girl's family enjoyed the meat pro-
vided by her husband's father. However, both
groups had acorn meal, seeds, meat, manzanita
cider, etc., to compose a full menu for feast-
ing.

[178] Today gifts are given at a child's birth,
e.g., money, bead belts. But, inferentially,
the cleansing ceremony for the mother is omit-
ted. The interpreter L.W., herself a young
mother, said, "I guess that's why we all get
skinny now when they don't do that to us," at
which N.W. and L.W. both laughed.¹²²

¹²¹It is not meant, of course, that recipients trotted
home with each set of gifts exchanged. It can be assumed
that, if the man's parents came from another village, they
did not go home until after the affair was over. "Home" in
such a case merely means their quarters or camp in the vil-
lage they were visiting.

[202] ¹²²The meat tabu for a new mother is not mentioned, but
it is implied in the subsequent feasting and in L.W.'s re-
mark: some form of ill-health was thought to result from
carelessness in such matters (cf. Wukchumni).

[P 208 a] Chukchansi

756 Joint "got rotten and fell off" but this was
752 the only ill effect she suffered. In plate 1,
Part I (right vertical) is a dark stick with
horizontal markings. This is a Chukchansi
"doctor's wand," and is a stick covered with
rattlesnake skin; it was "secured from
Mayenetz, Coarse Gold." (Spec. no. 76484.)
"The Indian doctor" [any shaman?] could
cure rattlesnake bites, according to J.R. He
sang over the stricken person; he looked at the
sun, at the same time whistling through a small
bone tube.¹⁴⁷ A medicine for snake bite was
known, but was not used if the shaman were
there. "The doctor did better work. The medicine
wasn't a sure cure. The witch [shaman]
made a fellow get well, though." A person
bitten by a snake should kill it, for if he did
not, the creature would continue to send poison
into the wound from a distance. "The snake
wouldn't bite you again. He would just throw
the poison into you from where he was, off
somewhere."

People were bitten frequently. J.R. knew
of one woman who did nothing for the wound; a
large swelling developed. People tried to cure
it, but she died.

756 There were shamans who had learned from
825 their dreams how to handle rattlesnakes, said
757 J.R. These men were told in dreams where to
find the snakes and how to appease them so they
would never be injured by them. A rattlesnake
shaman used down from a squirrel hawk¹⁴⁸ when he
• [237] was dancing. The down was across his forehead
[entwined in strings or glued in place?] and
he wore nothing else except "a little piece
around the waist." [Breechclout or loincloth,
probably.]

756 The rattlesnakes, secured in summer, were
825 fed hawk down. They were further quieted by
the shaman's spittle. The shaman spat on or
near the snake's head. "Spit just light, thin.
Do it close to him -- just over his head, on
his head, any place. After this he can under-
stand you, when you have thrown spit on him."
The shaman handled the snake with bare hands.

This was done at a ceremony, for exhibi-
tion, particularly "when someone won't believe
they can do it." But the rattlesnake shaman
did not prevent persons from being bitten:
"They don't ever do anything to keep people
from getting snake bite. They can't do any-
thing that way."

Compared to southern Yokuts snake-handling,
that of the Chukchansi seems aberrant, amateur-
ish. According to Kroeber, the Chukchansi
lacked the rattlesnake ceremony.¹⁴⁹ J.R.'s ac-

¹⁴⁷Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 517.

¹⁴⁸The red-tailed hawk? "The squirrel hawk has a red tail
and feathers a little different from the tail. They get the
fine feathers off the body of this bird, all white, fine,
just like cotton. Pull the outside feathers off, throw them
away."

¹⁴⁹Handbook, 506.

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342 frame bands and hanging baskets, jerked meat, skins, and other things hung from them. There was no special place of honor for a guest to sit or sleep, though the preferred place was thought by B.O. to be just inside the door on either side. The senior or authoritative woman of the household who was responsible for the preparation of meals usually sat and worked just to the left of the entrance as one entered.

There was no village plan, or defined location for chiefs' or doctors' homes.

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[361] While the Waksachi used the conical house, the oval type, characteristic of the Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts, was the more common, according to B.O. The floor space, which was some 15 feet wide by 20 feet long, was not dug down, but wore down eventually from constant tramping.

Two forked poles supported a center beam or ridgepole 10 to 15 feet long. These parts might be of alder or oak. The frame was of willow "or any kind of good wood." The side poles were laid against the center beam, and those at the ends were laid into the forked post. These side poles, while held in position by horizontal withes, were not bent to form a curved roof line, as in Yokuts houses, but, lying straight, produced an obtuse-angled gable.

The walls were covered with a thatch of grasses, seldom a thatch of tule (fig. 1, b, Pt. I). The whole process was the same as for the conical house. Both men and women tied this thatch on, although men made the frame and women the thatch "skirt."

The doorway, which was invariably in the long side of the house, was covered by a mat of twined tules stiffened on each side with willow sticks lashed along its edges. The door was not fastened to the house, "just leaned against it."

There was never more than one room to such a dwelling, nor were there partitions. "A man built his house the size he needed and he never added a room" (B.O.). The fireplace was in the center, the smoke escaping through a slot left at the ridgepole between the last rows of thatch. Beds were made of pine boughs, obtainable near Eshom Valley, or of tule mats. Rabbit-skin blankets were the preferred covering, though these often had to be obtained by trade with the valley people. No type of pillow or head rest was used. [The idea of a wooden head or neck rest B.O. thought very funny indeed.] There was no place of honor.

No plan was followed when setting up houses in a village: "anybody built where he liked."

The bark-covered house (to'to'pti, Michahai) was made on a conical framework which had as its basis a single forked center post. Occasionally two forked posts with a short center beam were used. Against either the single fork or the center beam were laid stiff poles, rather close together and lashed to their sup-

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291 A sewn leather jacket was denied by S.O., yet other informants said a sort of sleeveless jumper with side seams could be bought from the Eastern Mono. (It is possible S.O. misunderstood my query.)

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[237] • Rabbit-skin blanket.---The Michahai and Waksachi, when on their camping trips to the lower foothills, caught jack rabbits. Sometimes they bought rabbit-skins from Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni. They also saved and used the upland rabbit-skins for blankets.
439]

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292 Dance costume.---The shaman's dance skirt, 237 which he wore on all dress occasions, consisted of many 18- to 24-inch pendent strands of ša' string into which chicken-hawk down had been rolled. Each strand was tipped with a bluejay or flicker quill.

The headdress consisted of the usual two parts, the vertical feather bunch (šuha'o, Michahai; šuha'b'i, Waksachi) made of roadrunner quills, and the soft fluffy crown (se'ma, Michahai; sema'b'i, Waksachi) of crow feathers.

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292 The skirt was made by either men or women, 462 but the headdress was made only by men. An old 435 man at Kileyu (Dunlap) named Ko'o was particularly skilled at making headdresses, which he sold at a price somewhat equivalent to \$10.00

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301 Ear and nose plugs.---Everyone, said S.O., 304 had his or her ears punched. This was done with a fine pointed manzanita stick. The heated point was pressed from in front against the lobe, behind which was pressed a small flat stone. The stick was pushed on into the hole and left until the wound healed. Then a series of increasingly larger sticks were inserted. Cane tubes were sometimes inserted, and the men's quill-feather ear plug of the Yokuts was used. A women's ear plug, also derived from the Yokuts of the plains, consisted of a ring of abalone shell (li'la, Michahai) which fitted the aperture like a plug, and from which dangled short strands of clamshell-disc beads.

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304 Similarly, in the old days, both men and women had the nasal septum pierced. A single humana shell bead was the favorite ornament for this aperture.

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304 Tattooing.---There were no special practitioners of this art, "anybody could do it." The design was pricked in the skin with the point of a fine obsidian blade and charcoal was rubbed in the abrasion. The patterns were stereotyped. Women had vertical lines from lower lip to chin, but these were never used by men. Both sexes used horizontal lines running from the corners of the mouth to the ears, and bandlike lines on the inner wrist. Two old women, Bren and Sugarfoot, were noted for their ambitious decorations which consisted of straight wide lines commencing on the chin and continuing down throat, chest, and breasts. S.O. could recall no other kinds of designs.

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302 Paint.---Face and body paints were hapa'ka 192 o š:k (red), toiye 'i oš:k (white), and mutskel'w:k oš:k (black, i.e., charcoal) (all terms Michahai.)

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terms Michahail. S.O. could recall only two specific patterns and the generally used shamans' pattern. A man with Crow totem would always use black, but this might be arranged any way he chose, S.O. thought. The favorite pattern for a Crow pošam was a horizontal black band on each cheek under the eyes, or sometimes over the eyes. A Deer man's emblem was one to three rows of black dots drawn along the zygomatic arch from nose to ears. Shamans used three horizontal rows of lines or dots on each cheek in the order red, black, red, and the same on arms and legs. At the Ghost Dance gatherings any person could and did use this pattern. [The use of white paint was not mentioned, and I failed to note its omission.]

SUBSISTENCE

HuntingW
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Bows and arrows---The following information is from B.O. who was a noted hunter.

The plain bow (e' d'u) was in common use by every man, and was the type first used by boys. It was made of pepperwood (no' j'b'; California Laurel), and was of the same proportions and curvature as the sinew-backed bow. It was strung with a two-ply sinew cord.

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The sinew-backed bow (ta' mued") was of juniper wood (wa-p) which only grew up in the mountains, i.e., from Waksachi territory eastward. The length was from 3 to 4 feet, and 2 inches the width at the center: roughly measured from the sternum to fingertips; if wanted extra long, from one shoulder to opposite fingertips. There was no indentation at the grip. The ends were recurved: heated over coals, the end would be braced into some crevice and forced to bend by leverage pressure on the center of the bow. This was a slow task requiring many repeated efforts. After the bow was shaped, sinew (ta' mob') from deer legs was soaked in water, then beaten between two flat stones. A heavy glue made by boiling

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deer horns was smeared along the back of the bow and the sinew laid into it. The sinew was so placed that a piece about one inch long extended beyond the bow at either end. When dry, these curled back, forming hooks for the better attachment of the bowstring. A hand grasp of leather was glued around the bow at the center; sometimes small feathers were inserted around the edges of this. The bowstring was 2-ply sinew cord. In fitting a new string, the looped loose end was placed first and the other end pulled up to the desired tension and tied permanently in position. Bows were left unstrung most of the time. To unstring, the tied end was placed against the right instep, the left hand grasping the upper end. The bow was then pulled inward and downward sufficiently to relax the string, which was slipped off with the right hand.

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[P. 220 b] Western Mono NS25

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[237]
The fire fan (file't:l, Michahai; tu'ohi dano, Waksachi) was made of hawk or buzzard tail feathers. One made by B.O. appears in plate 2, e herein. The handle was about twelve inches long. They were made only by men. They were used primarily for hunting and for fanning coals under cooking or roasting materials (e.g., fish, burning lime), never as personal accessories for fanning the face or body. They are not to be confused with the feather bunches used in doctoring.

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Pigeon snaring---Pigeons (šo'ni, Michahai) flew south in the late fall (about November) and were caught in large numbers by means of a hand noose operated from a blind. Two sorts of shelter for the hunter were used, one a booth on the ground (ʔi toho noi šoni, house to catch pigeon) and a brush concealment in a tree (ʔi p:n ma ʔe'e niši', up you house build). The booth was usually placed near water where the birds gathered at sunrise.

The booth was about 8 feet long, 4 feet wide, and had its floor excavated about 1 foot all over. Long poles of dogwood were set butt down along each side, bent and tied together overhead to form a series of arcs just high enough to clear a man's head when kneeling. The arcs near the front were lower than those farther back in order to make the front opening as discreet as possible. Horizontal withes were tied along the arcs to keep them erect, and over all were tied bunches of brush which, in turn, had more brush and green boughs fastened or thrown on. A grass called paša' was laid all around the booth on the ground. The arched front was partially covered with long twigs set upright in the ground and fastened at their tips to the arc frame. One opening, or more often two, about twelve inches wide was left in this frontal screen.

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Directly in front of the booth was a raised circular platform some 4 feet in diameter and 18 inches high built up of stones, earth, and a final layer of smooth sand. Manzanita brush was laid all around the edge of this to form a low "natural" barricade. On the smoothed sand cracked acorns were scattered. This platform was called pa'nis a t'm:n šoni (place down-their pigeon).¹⁶⁰

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The hunter, concealed in the booth, had with him about six live pigeons which, with strings to their legs, were let out through each of the openings. "Four on each side was best," said S.O., "but three on each side was usual and sufficient." Acting as decoys these birds, which had been kept hungry for the purpose, ate of the acorn meal and lured the wild birds, which came readily. The tame pigeons were jerked or poked occasionally to make them flutter and attract attention. The noose for snaring the newcomers was of ho'o, about 4

¹⁶⁰S.O. said, "You just said 'pa'nam:n' for short, just like slang."

[P. 223 a] ~~Western Mono~~ NS25

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nut was held butt down on a small flat stone and struck on the tip with another stone. A man would not hesitate to use his arrowstraightener for such a purpose, though other comfortable hand-shaped stones were kept about and so used. The shelled acorns were spread out on rocks to dry, then stored in large covered baskets in the house. Acorns to be stored in outdoor bins were not shelled. Acorn-shelling was a favorite evening occupation while some old person would tell stories.

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[25]
Acorn mush---The process of cooking was the usual one with hot stones. The stones were of a dull brownish color, hard and fine grained; granite was never used. The mush basket was always twined and invariably carried four horizontal rows of redbud ornamentation (pl. 2, b herein). The hot stones were lifted from the fire with two pine poles, dipped quickly into water to rinse (if ashes adhered, which they rarely did), and dropped into the mush. They were extracted from the mush with a looped mushstirrer made of grapevine.

If people were in some hurry to eat, the whole basket of boiling mush was set into a larger one filled with cold water. If they were in a great hurry, portions of mush were scooped up in individual baskets or clay bowls and lowered into cold water where they immediately solidified. These agglutinated cakes were removed from the water and served from a big tray. They were eaten "just that way."

A plant called paša was used to flavor acorn mush.

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[263]
Ya'ap---This was a root (unidentified) about 1 to 2 inches long and 2 or 3 inches wide. It was boiled, or baked in ashes, and was sweet, mealy, and fragrant.

Yellowjacket nest---This was dug up, roasted on a hardwood grating laid over coals, cooled, broken up, and eaten.

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[237]
Honey---A bee (?) called in English "big stick bee" (ta'beko'ot, Waksachi) deposited honey all over a tree -- in its crevices, forks, or splits in the bark. This honey, while sticky, was sufficiently firm to be cut away in small pieces. An obsidian blade was used, and pieces obtained might be as large as a man's middle finger. The honey was taken back to camp on leaves, or in a leaf-lined basket, and was eaten immediately "just like candy." B.O. insisted that this was "old time" and that the bees did not come from Spanish sources.

Fish---These were usually roasted between two layers of hot coals; the bottom layer was covered with sand. Occasionally they were boiled in a pot, but were less favored when so cooked.

Shellfish---The only type known for eating was the freshwater oyster (river mussel). When whole, with meat inside, it was called ki'puš; the shell itself, which was burned to combine with tobacco, was known as ke'wi. As a food the oysters were used only by the people near Wood-

Cordage and Nets

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Sinew cord (ta'mowí' wí:š:b) was made only by men. Sinew from deer leg and back was saved and dried. When wanted for use, it was soaked in water, then pounded between two stones. A man often used his arrow straightener for this if he had one. The material was worked over with the fingers, smoothed, and finally separated into filaments.

To make cord used primarily for bowstrings and arrow tying three fine strips of sinew of differing lengths were knotted together evenly at one end. The knot was held in the left hand, and the three strands, well separated, lay on the right thigh under the palm of the right hand. The first movement was toward the body: the left hand held the strands taut while the right hand rolled them up the thigh. The left hand then relaxed, which permitted the knot end to roll up. It was drawn tight again. The right hand then rolled the string, which in the portion between the two hands was now a single 3-ply cord, forward down the thigh. This completed the cycle of movements which produced six to twelve inches of cord. The pressure of the right hand was not relaxed from start to finish. The movement of the hand was not straight back and forth. On the back stroke it was a rotating movement, the thumb side of the hand moving but slightly while the outside described an arc. The forward stroke was straight.

The next section of sinew was treated in the same way. The left hand grasped the cord just above the point where the three strands separated. New strands were spliced, i.e., rolled in by overlappings, never knotted. As the basic strands were of different lengths, only one need be spliced in at a time, which not only was easier to handle but obviated excessive thickening in the cord. The strand to be spliced was always placed in the center of the trio as they were rolled up the thigh.

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Milkweed string (wí'šib:b wí:š'bi; milkweed, wí'šib:b, Waksachi; šé', Michahai) was made only by women. B.O. thought this string was all 2-ply, but was not certain. Milkweed plants were laid out in masses on bedrock mortars to dry. The stems were then sprinkled with water (not soaked) and pounded. The fibres were smoothed down with the fingers. The rolling process for making it into string was exactly like that for sinew cord.

A coarser cord called sa'híp (the Yokuts ša') was also made of willow bark by Waksachi.

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The carrying net (tapi'hé) and tumpline (ta'wáp) were made by women, said B.O., but were most used by men. Women carried the line over the head and in so doing used the coiled basket cap (pi'kuók) which they never wore at any other time. Men placed the line across the chest and deltoid muscles. Any objects which the net could contain might be carried in it. The material and process of manufacture

Musical Instruments

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Flute---This (u'tač, Michahai) was made of elderwood (wise'ta). It was about twelve to fourteen inches in length and had four holes. The pith was removed throughout. The instrument was held vertically in front of the player, but was played on one side of the mouth. To a good player one would say: ma pai'yu u'tau (you know-how to-play [anything]).

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Whistle---This (pu'sač, Michahai) was made from the shinbone of a "chicken" hawk; eagle bone was never used for this. It was about three inches long and had no reed.

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Cocoon rattle---For this instrument (ča'o'č, Michahai) three or four cocoons of the silk moth with pebbles inserted were tied on a short stick. It was used only to accompany the Bear Dance and Shamans' Contest.

Clapper---This (ta'oh:l, Michahai) was an elderberry stick some eighteen inches long, split two-thirds of its length and the pith removed. It was held in the right hand and flapped against the palm of the left, never against wood or stone. It was the normal or profane accompaniment to all dance singing.

Tobacco

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[438]

Tobacco plants grew abundantly in Eshom Valley, particularly on burnt-over ground, but it was a poor variety, "small and dry." Most of the tobacco used by the Waksachi was bought from the Wukchumni and other people to the south (B.O.). Only a few people knew how to prepare the plants for use, but the function was not restricted in any way.

Both S.O.'s parents took on tobacco preparation when they became elderly: it was a favorite occupation of the old. Early in spring (March-April) they would go to the plants and pinch out the center tips "to make them grow bigger." This was the only care given the plants. When the leaves were yellow and about ready to drop off (about June), they went out with large baskets and picked them; sometimes they pulled up entire plants.

The leaves were spread out on a flat rock to dry thoroughly. Then they were pulverized in a mortar hole kept exclusively for this purpose. Meanwhile the stems and roots, which had been washed in running water, were boiled and the resulting liquid was stirred into the powder to form a paste. Sometimes "another weed with a good smell" (S.O. could not identify or name it) was likewise pulverized and added to the paste.

The paste was shaped into round flat cakes (tapi'pat) or cylindrical ones (pultu'kin). As they were making the cakes S.O.'s parents would say, tapa'lin nım ti's (flat mine [I] make), or, pultu'kus ni'm ti's (round mine [I] make). The Waksachi terms for shapes were: a

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844 waist and over the abdomen, and gave her a cup of hot medicine made by boiling kičena 'oša¹⁷⁰ in water.

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755 In case of difficult birth a shaman was called. He talked to his supernatural helper, pressed his patient's belly, rubbed it with his talisman and blew on it. No singing, dancing, cutting, or sucking was done. Usually a woman called on her own supernatural helper on such occasions: it was chiefly for such purposes that women sought power. Informant D. referred to the Wukchumni M.L.'s power in aiding child-births.

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844 The shaman was the only man present. The husband, at the time of delivery, moved out to sleep at the sweat house and have his meals with some relatives until his wife had her cleansing ritual. Some men observed a meat tabu during this time.

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[853] At the birth of the child the midwife cut its cord (dos) with a section of split cane (kakkid) and tied the stump with milkweed string. The afterbirth was buried; it was never put in water or in an anthill.¹⁷¹ The baby was bathed at once in warm water. It was then wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and bound to a forked-stick cradle (akh: 'l:š). The use of a soft mattress-cradle was denied by D., as was the use of shredded bark, moss, or any other type of diaper.

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[237] The navel stump came off in three to six (theoretically six) days. It was put in a bead-decorated skin case and hung on the cradle hood for the infant to play with. If the stump were not kept, the baby would crawl around on the ground searching for it and would never learn to walk. It was preserved throughout life "for good luck."

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[844] A hot bed of stones and ashes had been prepared for the mother in her own house and on this she lay, covered with deer and rabbitskin blankets for six days. She lay on her back (D.). Each day, either in the morning or evening, she steamed the vaginal tract. Brake fern (to'o'di) was boiled in a big basket of water. The woman sat on the edge of a log, or on a stick resting between two forked stakes, with the steaming basket between her legs. She covered herself and the basket with deer and rabbitskin blankets, and remained until the steam was exhausted. The process of steaming was called to 'ena 'ošita, and was not used for any other purpose by anyone (D.).

For six days, while on the hot pit, the mother drank copiously of hot water and acorn gruel, her only sustenance. After that she ate seed and acorn mushes but kept the meat tabu for three months, when her cleansing ritual took place. A woman who failed to observe the

¹⁷⁰A tall plant with purple blossoms growing abundantly in the mountains.

¹⁷¹But D. said the Yaudanachi put the afterbirth in an anthill; and had heard of others who did.

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continuing failures might dissuade the novice from pursuing a shaman's career.

An advance in the attainment of supernatural power was marked by a shaman's entrance into the Shamans' Contest, as only "big" doctors could make the airshot believed derived from the sun. A shaman with little power would fear to attempt it. Moreover, it was customary that entering shamans make and exhibit airshot to the managing winatum before the contest commenced.

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Young doctors were not feared as malevolent, as were older, powerful shamans. "Bad doctoring," the sickening of others for the attainment of wealth through fees, political power, or for malicious pleasure, was thought to be a matter of personality. It was a misuse of power by the individual, and was not due to different or evil dream helpers,¹²¹ although it was thought that assistance from several very powerful helpers such as Eagle, Cougar, Coyote, and Owl might endanger a man's good character by putting excessive power in his way. Whether a doctor was good or bad was believed to result largely from his choice of companions. There was a tendency among shamans to form cliques which became mutually antagonistic. S.O. summarized his long exposition by concluding: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. Sometimes they got mean, tried to see what they could do, and got so they thought they could do anything. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."

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The procedure between patient and established doctor was much like that given above for the novice. When a person became ill, some member of the family would go after the doctor whom they had selected, taking a fee with him. More money or objects of value might be given the doctor during the course of curing. It was this practice of "bleeding" a patient's relatives that led avaricious men to the shaman's profession and, when carried too far, brought the outraged family to the conclusion that the patient was in truth the shaman's own victim. Even if death resulted, the initial fee was not returned; the doctor "usually was told to keep it." But S.O. knew of instances wherein half was returned; to obviate suspicion a conscientious doctor would want to do this.

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The doctor summoned would normally agree to visit the sick person, but he would proceed to curing only if he felt disposed to do so. The first thing he would try would be rubbing the patient with his talisman. Cutting (for sucking) was not thought good practice. The doctor's talisman, which might be a weasel skin, owl's head, stone, etc., was dipped in a basket of water and rubbed on parts of the patient's body. As he did this, the shaman talked to the

¹²¹Cr. Chukchansi; a Chukchansi man might become the unwilling abettor of his supernatural helpers.

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535 turesque spectacle when several tribes gathered at once; but it has
527 the appearance of being only a prelude.

CEREMONIAL PARAPHERNALIA.

292 The eternal yellow-hammer forehead bands of the California In-
237 dians are not lacking among the Yokuts; but the characteristic dance
[307] costume of these tribes comprised the *chohun*, a skirt of strings of
eagle down, and the *djuh*, a tall headdress of tail plumes of magpies,
encircled at the base by crow feathers (Fig. 44). The eagle-down
skirt extends across the Sierra to the Shoshonean tribes as far east as
Death Valley (Pl. 42). It has not been reported from any part
[171] of interior California other than the Yokuts, and in southern Cali-



FIG. 44.—Yokuts dance headdress of
magpie and crow feathers.

fornia its place is taken by a skirt of large eagle feathers. In this garment we have thus to recognize either a local development or an influence from the Great Basin. The magpie and crow headdress is found, with some slight variation, among the Maidu and Patwin; and it may accordingly be assumed for the intervening Miwok also, though not yet reported from them. With the Maidu, this ornament is part of the apparel of god impersonators, such as the *Sili* and Bear spirit; among the Yokuts, who do not indulge in such esoteric representations, it is worn in the mourning dance, in the comple-

mentary dance of rejoicing, and by shamans. It is a familiar fact that the same article or element of civilization is frequently utilized for widely different purposes, and in quite diverse connections or meanings, by distinct nations.

292 The *djuh* was held in place by a stick jammed through its base
237 and the hair as bunched under a tightly drawn head net—the usual
301 central Californian device for fastening large feather ornaments to the head. The *chohun* was made from the down of a large water bird, called *goldat* by the valley tribes, when they experienced difficulty in securing a sufficient supply of eagles. Sticks tipped with the showy crest feathers of the mountain quail were passed through the pierced ear lobes.

293 Two other ornaments were much used by the Yokuts: the *woachom*
237 and the *watnat*. The former was a loose bunch of feathers carried
301 in the hand and swinging with every motion; the latter, a belt, also worn as leg band, of strings of twisted hair cut off by mourners. This

2:Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

NS29 Yokuts NS29

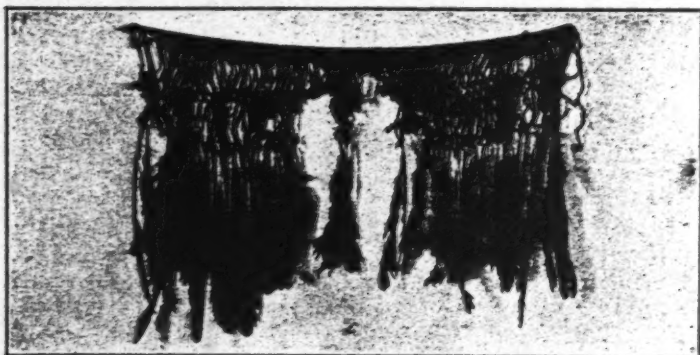
Western Shoshone NT22

Luiseño NS14

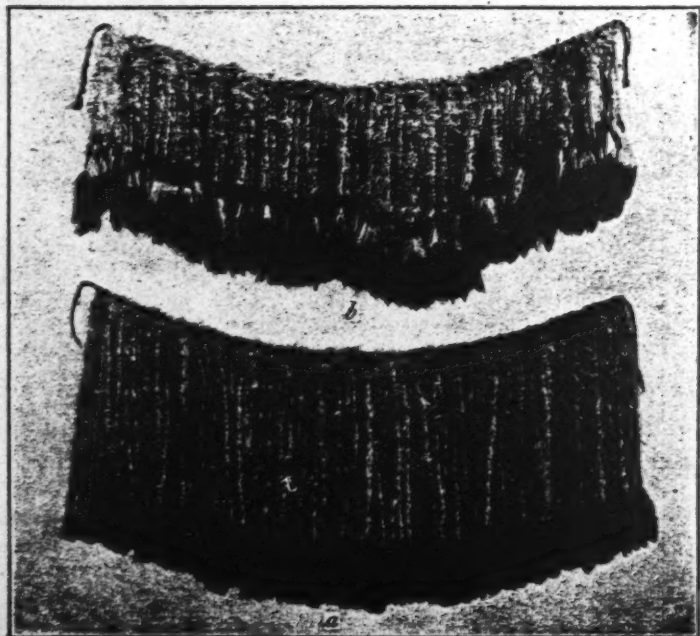
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

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FEATHER DANCE SKIRTS

a, Klamath; b, Yokuts; c, Luiseño

[p. 508(B)]

hair belt recurs as far to the north as the Shastan tribes. Its distribution is likely to have been continuous over a wide area, but there are reports of its use from only a few points.

The dance rattle was the same cleft stick as prevails over all of central California; likewise, the cocoon implement was associated with the shaman. The deer-hoof rattle of parts of northern California and the turtle shell and gourd instruments of the south were unknown. The flute was the usual tube, blown from the end over its edge; the holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relations of distance. (Pl. 43, b.) It was thought to have been invented by the falcon. Drums were not employed by the Yokuts: the foot drum of the Sacramento drainage appears to be part of the dance house. The bull roarer was called *hinhimna*, *huhnudeck*, or *hnhm'udeck*. It was a toy; but whether it had other purpose and potency is not known. (Pl. 44.)

PRAYERS.

Short prayers in fixed form are spoken on a variety of occasions and are evidently a definite element of Yokuts culture.

When there is an eclipse, this is said:

Leave me a little of the sun!
Do not devour it altogether from me!
Leave me a little!

If one wishes to drink of a strange body of water, he says:

Let us live long in this world!
This is our water!

The dead are addressed thus by the Tachi:

You are going to another land.
You will like that land.
You shall not stay here.

There is here an expression of the world-wide sentiment that the career of the departed in this world is finished, that the break is final, and that any attempt at return can only be disastrous to the living and is not desired.

As the language knows no exhortative of the second person, nor any form corresponding to our precative "may," these speeches are either in the unvarnished command of the imperative or direct statements in the indicative mode.

One of the most usual Yokuts offerings is tobacco; another, at least among the hill tribes and those of the south, is eagle down.

The ritualistic number of the Yokuts is most often 6, sometimes 12, not infrequently 7; 8 occurs occasionally, but it is not certain whether with any sense of significance. The universal 4 of the north central tribes, and the 5 and 10 of the northwestern Indians appear to be meaningless to the Yokuts.

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CHAPTER 35.

THE YOKUTS: THE CONCRETE BASIS OF LIFE.

Dress and bodily habits, 519; houses, 521; the food problem in California, 523; Yokuts plant foods and their preparation, 527; the mortar, 527; the taking of game and fish, 528; the bow, 530; boats, 531; textiles, 531; cradles of the Yokuts and other Californians, 534; pottery, 537; pipes and tobacco, 538; games, 538; aesthetics, 540; the type of Yokuts civilization, 542.

DRESS AND BODILY HABITS.

Clothing sufficed only for the very limits of decency, as we see them. Men wrapped a deerskin, *sep*, around the loins, or went naked. Old men in particular were wont to go without even this covering. Boys and little girls also were nude; but from the time of puberty on women wore a two-piece fringed skirt of the usual Californian type, the hind part larger. With the Yaudanchi, both portions were made of willow bark, as among the Mohave. The Chukchansi made the back piece of buckskin, the front of pounded masses of a long grass called *chulochul*. The well-known rabbit-fur blanket protected against cold and rain on occasion, and was excellent to sleep in. Moccasins of deer and elk skin were worn only as there was special need. Rude sandals of bear fur have been reported as worn in winter.

Women's hair was worn long, but for men the custom was more variable. Both sexes were wont to gather it under a string when at work. In mourning, men burned their hair off to the neck, women, for a near relative, close to the head. A glowing stick was used, and the Chukchansi controlled the singeing with a natural comb of *tuma*, which has close-set parallel branches.

Women, but not men, had their nose septum pierced for ornaments of bone.

Tattooing was more practiced in the north than in the south, and more extensively by women than by men. It ran in lines, zigzags, and rows of dots, chiefly down the chin and across from the corners of the mouth; the Mono style of marking the upper cheeks was not followed. The general type of women's face pattern tolerated infinite individual variety, as in the Yuki region; the Yurok and their neighbors clung strictly to a tribal style. Chukchansi women might be tattooed across breast, abdomen, arms, and legs also. The method followed was to rub charcoal dust into cuts made with flint or

2:Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

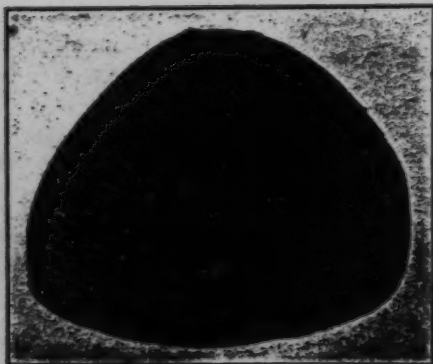
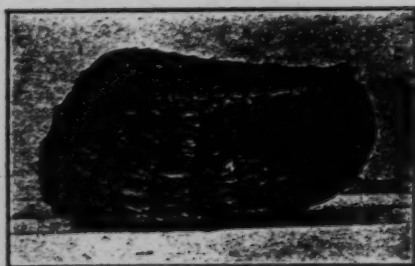
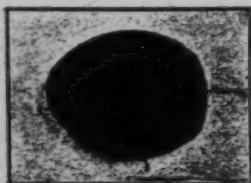
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BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

BULLETIN 78 PLATE 50

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• [237
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YOKUTS BASKETRY

a, Yokuts double-bell baskets with fringe of mountain quail plumes; b, tray for carrying; c, oak basket of tule; d, seed basket or tray; e, diagonally belted winnow or tray

[p. 530(B)]

- 411 The sling was used only by boys, but the hill tribes report the Mono to have employed it in war. In the high Sierra it might often be more effective than an arrow.

BOATS.

- 501 Boats of bundled tule must have been in use among nearly all the valley tribes. On the tumbling streams in the hills these heavy rafts would have been utterly unmanageable. The northernmost Yokuts, below the Miwok of the hills, must have employed these craft constantly in their broad, sluggish streams and multitudinous still sloughs. They remained longest in service on Tulare Lake. Reconstructed models reveal only a cigar-shaped aggregation of bundles of rush, but the best specimens of old days may have approximated real boats in having raised edges. It can scarcely be presumed that the tule stalks could be bundled or beaten together so tight as to exclude the water; rather their lightness raised the whole mass so high that even the bottom of the hollow was above the water line, the gunwales serving only the convenience of preventing wave wash from entering and load or killed game from slipping overboard. Some of these lake boats carried three or four men in comfort, and could bear a small fire on an earth hearth. In maneuvering among the tules the entire vessel and occupants were often covered over with tules, forming a movable blind for the pursuit of waterfowl.
- [223]

TEXTILES.

- 285 Yokuts baskets are distinguished by one special type, a coiled jar-like vessel with flat shoulder and constricted though sometimes re-flaring neck. The pattern is one or more bands in red and black, either diamonds or hexagons or alternate trapezoids. The shoulder
- 531
- [223] was often ornamented with a horizontally projecting fringe of quail crests (Pl. 50), for which red worsted is a modern substitute. These "Tulare bottle-necks," as they have come to be known in the curiosity
- 285 and antique trade, as well as the quail plume decoration, are not found among the Miwok on one side of the Yokuts nor among the true southern Californians on the other. The two-color pattern is
- 531
- 171 also rare if not lacking among the tribes to the north and south, except among the Chumash. The western Mono, Tübatulabal, Koso, Kawaiisu, and Kitanemuk worked according to Yokuts type, but as they form a fringe of Shoshoneans they have probably derived the art from their lowland neighbors. Kawaiisu technique is, however,
- 285
- 171 as fine as Yokuts. The Chumash also did beautiful work, but the shapes which they gave to their incurved baskets are perhaps less specialized. At least they lack the sharp shoulder and distinct neck which the Yokuts fancied; but their baskets are very small-mouthed.

411 Sinew-backed juniper bows were recurved at the tips and carried a longer string than other bows of the same length. The sinews for backing were taken from the loin of the deer in wide strips and were glued to the back of the bow with a glue made from deer horns and hoofs. The bow was wider and flatter than the common bows and was narrowed in the middle for a hand grip. Strings for these bows were made of sinews from the loin of the deer.

411 Bow covers were often made of skin from the tails of mountain lions. When such could not be had, any skin was sewed into a bow cover. Quivers for holding arrows were often made of untanned antelope skin with the hair left on. When it could be secured, the Yokuts hunter liked the skin of a fox for a quiver. The entire skin was used. Even the skin of the head was used, the mouth and eye openings being sewed shut with sinews. The tail was left on the skin and the skin of the hind legs used for attaching a shoulder strap.

411 Yokuts arrows are the most refined and varied of all their hunting equipment. No less than seven kinds of arrows were commonly used by Yokuts hunters. All but two of these were made of two pieces, or with a fore-shaft. Aged Yowlumne Yokuts have stated that once they used only a one-piece arrow like those used by their neighbors to the east. These were tipped with an obsidian, or volcanic glass point, or with a similar point made of jasper, chalcedony, or some other stone which chipped easily. Another one-piece arrow was made by children and by men for use in a game, or to shoot small animals like gophers, mice and rats at short range. They were feathered, but had no stone point. The end of this arrow shaft was pointed and hardened in the fire.

There are several important reasons why a two-piece arrow was used by the Yokuts. First of these is the fact that it was very difficult to find or to make straight a one-piece arrow shaft as long as was used by Yokuts hunters. A second reason for using a two-piece arrow was that when game was missed, the stone point was almost always damaged. This made useless a valuable shaft until it could be taken to camp and re-pointed. The importance of this can be understood when it is known that a Yokuts hunter generally carried fewer than a half dozen arrow shafts. As many as two dozen fore-shafts were carried in a bag attached to the gee string.

Arrows were commonly fletched with feathers from the tail of the red-tailed hawk. Feathers from the wings of this hawk were also used. When red-tailed hawk feathers could not be secured, tail and wing feathers were used from the other native hawks, and sometimes from the great horned owl. Feathers were fastened to the mainshaft by means of sinews which were commonly waterproofed with asphaltum. Feathers were trimmed to shape with the glowing edge of a fired piece of sycamore bark.

Yowlumne Indians state that the best arrow shafts were made from long, straight shoots of spiny gooseberry. These were very strong and, when once straightened, remained straight. But most arrow shafts were made of the heartwood of cottonwillow, which was also very strong. After it had been straightened and hardened by being seasoned over a fire, or on a heated soapstone arrow straightener, it also retained its shape very well. The native cane or bamboo was also used for making arrow shafts. These were straightened on the heated soapstone arrow straightner. The Yowlumne also harvested a crude sugar from the leaves of this same cane in much the same way that salt was harvested from the leaves of salt grass.

Spears were also commonly used by the Yokuts. For some kinds of hunting they were used almost entirely. Raccoons and bears were most often killed with spears. There were two kinds of spears. One, to be held in the hands and used for repeated thrusts, was short and heavy and was made of one piece of elderwood.

A second type of spear was actually a primitive javelin. The shaft was also made of elderwood, was tapered smaller toward the rear, and was from five to six feet long. Javelins were foreshafted like the two-piece arrows, but used a much larger stone point, some as long as four inches. As all spears might be used in the water (but never to spear fish) all sinews were waterproofed with asphaltum.

A roll of tules was also fitted to the foreshaft of the javelin when it was thrown at raccoon, beaver, or otter in the water. This converted it into a skip-bomb weapon.

[P. 74 NOT PROCESSED]

CHAPTER IV

DRESS AND COMMUNICATIONS

YOKUTS MEN'S DRESS

291 If one is expecting a lengthy and detailed account of an extensive wardrobe worn by the various Yokuts tribes, he is doomed to disappointment. In dress they are often unfavorably compared with the Great Plains Indians. To do justice to these people, however, it must be known that the Great Plains Indians, with the exception of a few members of each tribe, did not appear as we are in the habit of seeing them pictured.

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114 Probably the motion picture has been most responsible for the misinformation which has been spread about Indians. Pictures have been made in which we are assured that as many as two thousand Indians have been employed in the cast. From what one sees in the picture, one would never know but that every tribe was composed of at least nineteen hundred and ninety-nine chiefs and one common, ordinary Indian.

291 The elaborate dress and head dress which is so commonly placed upon the pictured Indian was worn by probably not more than six men in a tribe of two thousand Indians. Another Indian of that tribe, when he was not entitled to it, would have taken his own life before he would have placed the head dress of a chief upon his head.

[142] The common citizen of the Great Plains tribes did not appear a great deal unlike the average Yokuts Indians, the principal difference being that the San Joaquin Valley natives were shorter and heavier and generally wore no foot covering of any sort. When the Spanish brought horses, hats and boots among them, they took the Spanish words for those articles and still use them when speaking their own language.

302 The men wore their hair long, but probably did not braid it until after they became acquainted with white people. They bound their hair into two coils somewhat resembling braids. These hung in front of the shoulders over each ear. Most often the hair was allowed to hang loose, being thrown back over the shoulders. It was held in place by a string wrapped around the head just above the eye-brows. This string was generally made from the fiber of the milk weed, and had woven into it
283
237 sacred down from the breast of the eagle, or from the red-tailed hawk.

- 302 tailed hawk. Into the hair at the back of the head and under
 • [237] the string might be thrust several feathers. These feathers
 [301] might be in natural colors, or white goose feathers dyed red,
 yellow, or blue. Beads of periwinkle shell, or of steatite, were
 hung around the neck, or fastened into the coils of hair.

- 304 Sometimes the ears were pierced, this practice being car-
 ried to such an extreme that in some instances, we are told, the
 rim would be almost separated from the rest of the ear and
 [301] stretched so that it hung almost to the shoulder. As much as a
 pound of ornaments might be suspended from these rings of
 flesh. At least upon the occasions of ceremonies, the face and
 302 other parts of the body were painted.

- 291 The only article commonly worn by men, which could be
 considered as clothing, was a breech clout (*nong-itch'-un*), sup-
 ported by a gee string (*wuh-suk'-un*). This apparel was worn
 much in the same manner as was that of the Great Plains In-
 dians. The breech clout was generally cut from a deer skin. It
 was about four feet or more in length. Both gee string and
 breech clout were placed behind the wearer and the two
 ends of the gee string brought to the front, where they were
 held by one hand, while with the other, the loose end of the
 breech clout was brought between the legs to the front. While
 the end of the breech clout was held under the chin, the gee
 string was tied around the waist over it. Then the end of the
 breech clout was allowed to fall downward, forming a small
 apron. This apron might be painted several colors, a design
 [531] peculiar to the tribe or family of the individual, or it might be
 left plain.

During extremely cold weather the skin of a mountain lion,
 deer, or wild cat might be thrown about the shoulders and pin-
 ned in place. But this would only be during a period of actual
 storm or cold and was not a common procedure. No other ap-
 parel of any sort was deemed necessary. Several tribes say
 that there is in their language no word for foot covering of any
 sort. The *Wukchumne* word for such was *Wong-kud'-uh*, and
 their elk-skin moccasin had a loose, boot-like leg which was tied
 just below the knee.

- [137] We are told by Indian as well as white pioneers that in
 the early days no foot covering was necessary, for the San
 Joaquin Valley floor was covered with grass as soft and com-
 [177] fortable to the foot as a velvet carpet. We are told that all of
 the plants of today which would in any way make barefoot

[text continues on p.78]

302 and painted white stripes across it, exactly opposite to the
172 present practice.

291 Only the principal article of women's clothing remains to be described. This was a short skirt affair (*chong-ish'un*), made in the form of two small aprons, a small one behind and a smaller one in front. The skirt was made of various materials, deer skin, tules, hemp, rabbit skin, mud-hen skin, grass and bark being reported from different portions of the San Joaquin. It reached almost to the knees. Some of these skirts were weighted by small balls of asphaltum attached to the lower edge.

[237] While present day Indians are quite careful about conforming to the white woman's standard of dress, they appreciate quite fully that the present tendency is decidedly toward the old Indian custom. Several years ago I took an Indian woman to several of the valley schools to give demonstrations in basket making. We arrived at one school during a period when both boys' and girls' physical education classes were in session. The boys were on their own courts playing basketball and wearing only trunks. The girls were on another court playing the same game, wearing middies and bloomers, but no stockings. During the demonstration, the Indian woman sat on the floor of the gymnasium where the program was being held. The front row of spectators was composed entirely of girls, none of whom wore stockings.

V86 After the performance, and when about thirty miles of the return trip had been made, the Indian woman said, "Ugh!" At this I listened closely, because such an exclamation always preceded a heated statement. Following a long pause came again, "Ugh! White people don't wear any more clothes than old-timer Indians. All style. They tell Indians you nasty, you dirty, you don't wear clothes. So Indians wear clothes. Indians all die. Now white people don't wear clothes. Maybe Indians nasty. White people nasty, too."

YOKUTS SUMMER VACATIONS

501 The most unique of all boats, or other structures for that mat-
484 ter, built by Yokuts tribes and probably by other tribes on the Pacific Coast, were the great tule rafts built on Kings River and probably on other rivers in times past for summer migration to the lakes in the San Joaquin Valley. By residents of the San Joaquin who must spend the hot summer months at home,

343 covered with a brush and tule thatch and then with dirt. The roofs of these houses were so low that a man could probably not stand upright in them. Some of the tribes called the sweat house, *Mosh*.

[623] The structure was generally quite small, probably never more than twelve or fourteen feet in length, and was not used as a dance house as was frequently done among other tribes. We do not know of its use as a council chamber, or assembly hall. What information the writer has been able to secure on this subject indicates that the Yokuts probably used the house of the head man, or chief, for these purposes.

During the winter the sweat house was a regular sleeping place for the older men. The door generally faced the south, but if the house was on the south side of the stream it faced the stream. We are told that in some instances a brush shelter, or wind break, was erected on either side of a path leading from the sweat house to the water, which was never more than a few yards distance.

343 In using the sweat house, a fire was built in the center and
515 stones were heated in it. All openings were closed and water was poured upon the hot stones. In addition to the intense heat due to the closed door, as well as the smoke from the fire, the steam from the hot rocks soon brought the inmates to a state of profuse perspiration and near suffocation.

[43] During the time of sweating, a sweat stick, or scraper, was
237 used to remove the perspiration from the body. This scraper was sometimes made from a split elk rib. It was about eighteen inches long and curved both along its length and in cross section. The elk rib was split along the edges and the thin, concave inner half used.

After enduring this state of affairs as long as possible, during which time there probably was competition as to who would be the last one to leave the place, the opening cover was thrown aside and a group of yelling, perspiring Indians ran from the house and jumped into the water.

[512] Often this form of bath was indulged in at night, after which those participating would go to their beds and to sleep. In the morning, generally before sun-up, practically every Indian in the rancheria would have left his house, running and shouting, and would have bathed in the near-by stream.

I have been told by old Indians, and have proved by investigation, that the Yokuts sweat house was located at the

526 ball used in playing shinny. Some of the tribes used a stone ball about the size of a tennis ball. These round, polished stones are more or less common throughout the San Joaquin Valley, but are seldom recognized as game stones by those who collect Indian relics. In the collection of the writer there are more than a dozen, several of which are as smoothly polished and as evenly rounded as most modern machine-made stone articles.

[291] As the Indians seldom wore a foot covering of any sort, and probably never when playing football, it will readily be appreciated that punting was not in practice. The toes were pushed under the ball and it was lifted and thrown by them. Old Indians say that the ball could be thrown fifty or sixty yards in this way and was a missile well worth avoiding.

The goal was established on a line with the starting point. It was about 400 yards from a stake, or outpost.

The method of goaling varied among the tribes, but is described by the Wukchumne as passing the ball between two stakes about four feet tall and set just far enough apart to allow clearance for it.

[549]
[237] The wooden football was made from a burl obtained from the side of an oak tree. It was burned and whittled nicely round and was sometimes covered with untanned deerskin, (*hoey'-in chud'-way*).

Five men constituted a team. Two teams competed. Three men of each team stood abreast and about three steps behind the ball, which was placed on the starting line. The other two men followed about six yards distant.

There were four umpires, *Hokawtich* (Ho-kaw'-titch). Two umpires watched the goal and two watched the field. The umpires who stayed at the goal also kept an eye on the score keepers. One of the umpires acted as starter. He stood in the middle of the field and yelled, "*He'-am tan'-se*," meaning "Everyone go!" Then the players quickly advanced, one team on each side of the goal, and the middle one in front in each team kicked the ball as far as he could.

The players followed the ball at top speed, but tried to maintain their position with relation to each other. If the ball did not go straight, one of the leading men at the side kicked it. If the leading man missed the ball all three kept running, but jumped to one side so that the following players could kick it past them.

224 line of Indians and escape, but a great many, probably two hundred, would be killed in a forenoon drive.

281
● 237 "The rabbit skins were made into fine blankets. These
[53] were used as a covering for sleeping much as is an ordinary blanket. They were the warmest and most comfortable bed covering I have ever used.

"The skins were taken from the rabbits without being split and, while green, were cut into a long strip about three-quarters of an inch wide.

"As this strip dried it naturally curled up with the flesh side inside and the fur on the outside. This made a sort of fur boa about an inch and a half in diameter.

"In making the blanket, two of the strings were twisted together for a distance of about six feet. Then the ends were doubled back and looped through the twists of the first portion.

"Working back and forth across the blanket in this way it was woven into a square about six feet on each side.

291
294 "Smaller blankets were used as a sort of cape, or shawl, in extremely cold weather, or to wrap the babies in before they were strapped on the cradle. The mokes also made their skirts in this way."

The material used in stitching to produce the red portion of the designs is prepared from redbud (*Cercis Occidentalis*). This is the beautiful shrub of the Sierra which is covered with magenta colored blossoms during the months of March and April. The outer wood is stripped from the slender shoots of redbud. These strips are a permanent red on the outside. Their color greatly resembles manzanita bark. The Yokuts name for this material is *ah'-nup*. 285 824

Some basketry designs make use of black stitching material. This is the root of the bracken fern (*Pteridium Aquilinum*) and is the only basketry material which is artificially colored by the Yokuts. It was necessary for the valley Yokuts tribes to secure this root by trade. The root of the fern was stripped into thin pieces. Some reports state that the pieces were then buried in the dark mud of a spring for several weeks. In discussing the coloring of the fern roots with the Wukchumne I found that they used a different method. They boiled the root in a quantity of black mud from the sloughs, or tule swamps. This produced a dead black, which is quite permanent. [386]

I have collected pieces of ancient burial baskets which had been exposed to light for at least seventy years, to find the red and black of the designs almost as bright as those of recent work. The Yokuts call the black stitching material *muh-no'-kits*.

The awl used in stitching was made from the shin bone of a deer. One bone was split and two awls made from it. When completed they were from seven to nine inches long. From time to time the tip of the awl was broken. A new point was formed by whetting the bone on a piece of sandstone. When the length of the awl was reduced to about three inches it was discarded. The Yokuts call this awl *bah'-oak*. 285 412 [237]

YOKUTS WICKER AND TWINED BASKETS

In addition to the *akketse* (*ah-keet'-se*), or baby cradle, the Yokuts tribes made several receptacles of wicker construction. The material used was either young black willow or cottonwood shoots. The Wukchumne say that young cottonwood shoots are better than willow, that they do not become so brittle with age. 285 824

The most common wicker-work utensil is a sort of colander, or sieve. This is used in sifting the chaff of the dried salt grass after it has been flailed, and in separating trash and 285 415

in excellence of stitching, but in mathematical regularity of detail. 285
531

In addition to those designs which are worked into the basket itself, it is often embellished with the feather top-knots of quail. This was particularly true of the bottle-neck, or *aw'-suh*, of the Yokuts of Kaweah, Tule and Kern Rivers. In addition, various kinds of beads were sometimes fastened to the outside of the baskets. [237]

It must be appreciated by readers that in an article of this nature, which has already exceeded proper limits, the subject of basketry designs can scarcely be approached. In addition to the forms already discussed there are countless numbers of designs reproducing almost every possible geometrical form. Some of them, we are told by basket makers, are used simply because they are *pah-yo'-me* (pretty).

It is of interest to note here that at least some of the basketry designs were used on the fabric made by the southern Yokuts. These tribes, the Tulamni, Tuhohi, Hometwoli and Yowlumne made many large circular mats or bags of fabric which probably were used for many purposes about their camps. However, the only uses of which we have definite knowledge are two, as shrouds for dead bodies and as linings for the sand basins in which acorn flour was leached. These fabric mats or bags were started of fiber thread much as were the blackberry gathering baskets and were twined, not woven. One piece of such fabric shows the rattlesnake pattern, worked in black thread. Although all existing specimens of Yokuts fabric have come from graves and are partially decayed, several designs can be distinguished on them. Material used in making Yokuts fabric is thought to be the fiber of the native hemp and/or milkweed. [286]
[764]
[172]
[824]
[283]

How the native woman was able, without pattern or example in nature, to bring into being countless numbers of beautiful designs and, with no tools other than a bone awl and a sharp rock, to form them into a basket, can never be comprehended by the layman until he has watched that work for many weeks. The artistic taste and mathematics involved in this one Indian art alone shows more plainly than anything else we know about them that the mind of the Yokuts Indian was equal to many many things far beyond anything that we have appreciated. [412]

796 Canyon. The last known of these was held on the south Fork of Tule River in the spring of 1890.

796 To understand something of what was in the Yokuts mind
825 when the Rattlesnake Dance was performed, it is necessary to know the position occupied by the rattlesnake in Yokuts mythology. No full-blood Yokuts I have ever known would kill a rattlesnake. Several pioneer white settlers have told me that when poisoning squirrels, Yokuts workers had refused to kill rattlesnakes, which was considered a part of that work. *Tawpnaw*, an aged Wukchumne, once told me that if a rattlesnake entered a Yokuts house the owner would vacate and turn the house over to the snake.

I believe that most of us would act like the Yokuts, at least until we could find a club and kill the snake. But, I was assured by *Tawpnaw*, no Yokuts would dare to kill a rattlesnake, because the rattlesnake could make him die, even without biting him.

[115] From *Tawpnaw*, *Yoimut* (a *Chunut*), *Wahumchah* (a *Yowlumne*), *Pahmit* (a *Dumna*), *Ichow* and *Pohut* (*Wukchumne*), *Dr. Bob* (a *Chukaimina*) and perhaps a dozen other aged Yokuts were learned the facts concerning Yokuts beliefs about rattlesnakes.

796 In Yokuts religion the rattlesnake is the private secretary
796 of *Tihpiknits*, keeper of the Yokuts hereafter. He is more
796 than that. He is a combination of Saint Peter and an F. B. I.
825 operative. It is his business to crawl about and spy on the Yokuts. When he finds a bad Yokuts he sends his name in to *Tihpiknits*, who immediately calls him in.

The above is illustrated in the Yokuts story of the visit to *Tihpiknits Pahn* (Land). When the husband of the dead wife returns to this world he violates *Tihpiknits*' orders to keep secret what he has seen. As soon as he disobeys orders he is stricken dead by a rattlesnake.

A folklore story concerning the designs on the typical Yokuts bottlenecked baskets, used by medicine men to nest rattlesnakes, relates to the fatal power of the rattlesnake. On some of these baskets appear the pattern of the diamond back rattlesnake, as well as designs, representing ants and water skaters. Around the edge of the basket are the top-knot feathers from the heads of quail.

In Yokuts mythology the quail is the champion of fair play. The ant, for its size, is noted for dealing out the most punish-

HANDBOOK OF YOKUTS INDIANS

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<i>Ah-hah-now'-uh</i>	<i>We-ah'-hah</i>
<i>Ah-hah-now'-uh</i>	<i>We-ah'-ah-hah</i>
	(We are crying)
<i>Wuk'-e le'-o</i>	<i>We-ah'-ah-hah</i>
(We cry again)	(We are crying)
<i>Ah-hah-now'-uh</i>	<i>We-ah'-ah-hah</i>

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[539]

When the song was done they all clapped their hands together and pointed at each other in time with each other.

They had men to lead the singing. All the people sang together. The lead singers were called *Ah-ha'-nitch*. We paid them to sing. There were about six at my father's Lonewis. They were painted black on their face, and stomach, too. They had white spots on their face and white stripes across their stomach.

[533]
[302]

All of the time until the Lonewis was over, all day and all night, some one was singing, someone was crying, someone was dancing.

The second night the *Hohuno* (Ho-hoo'-no) danced. This was the first night the big fire was lit. Hohuno was dressed in a long pretty blue dress that covered his head and reached to the ground. The Winatun dressed him. We children were all afraid of him. His Indian name was *Huyupah* (Hoo-yoo'-pah).

The part of the dress that went over Hohuno's head was made of the smooth skin and feathers from a fish crane. It fitted close to his head and was so smooth not a feather was out of place, except two feather horns on each side like a horned owl. On the front were fastened two large round pieces of abalone shell for eyes. They were just above his eyes. He had peek-holes right under them. When he came close to us he would lean over and look at us with those big eyes and we would almost die.

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From the shoulder down the dress was loose. Long, blue wing feathers from fish cranes were fastened to a loose skirt of strings. These feathers could swing loose as Hohuno danced. They were fastened about the middle so they would fly around like birds when he danced.

On his back, fastened across his shoulders, was a stick. About ten short pieces of bamboo hung loose from the stick. The pieces of bamboo were the size of a pencil, maybe a little bigger. When he danced, Hohuno would jerk his shoulders and make the bamboo sticks rattle together.

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159 dressed Cuksa. He wore an Ahntru headdress and skirt. In
769 one hand he carried *trah-wah't'-will*, the rattle, or clapper.

756 Cuksa sang and went around among the people. He made lots of fun doing like the Tripne Doctors did. At last the doctors began shooting at him. He fell down and his people carried him back to his camp. The doctors doctored him and he finally came alive again. The people gave him some money. He was only to make fun.

[24] The middle doctor shot at those at the ends. When he killed one, the Winatun took him to the other side and the doctors there doctored him. If he was not hit bad they took [755] it out, an arrow point, acorn, rock or something. [these objects were introduced by sleight-of-hand] Then he went back to fight. If he was hit bad they took him to his camp.

There were a lot of helpers called *Chamum Maets* (Chah'-mum ma'-ets). They walked around those fighting. They yelled and disturbed the other side. Each doctor had his own Chamum Maets. They had to pay these helpers.

● [23] The middle doctor spread *saw-nil* [eagle down] around him on the ground where the other doctors had been shooting at him. Then he brushed it up. The sawnil is Tripne and he took out of it [by sleight-of-hand] the things the other doctors had been shooting at him.

The fight was kept up until only one doctor was left. The outside people all paid the doctors while they were fighting, even after they had been hit. They gave them beads or arrows for pay. The doctors made lots of money that way. I saw all of this twice, once at *Sulawlahne* at the "Fish" Rice Ranch, south of Farmersville and once at Tule River Reservation.

159 The fourth night was when we came out with the clothes
769 stuffed like the dead people. About midnight they were brought out and carried around and pointed at the big fire for two or three hours. All of the time everyone was singing

[53A]

Ah-hah'-nah
(We sing)
Yoo'-e uh'-la
(You are going to burn)
We-ah'-ah hah
(We are crying)
(Repeated indefinitely)

right. We just opened the tule mats for a door. We did not have a round smoke hole in the long house. The tule mats did not reach to the top. If we wanted more room for the smoke to go out, we put a stick between the tule mats at the top. 159
342
592

In the Indian houses we nearly always slept along the side with our feet to the fire. To sleep sideways to the fire we called *got'-saka*. We dug a hole in the ground and filled it with loose tules. Then we covered them with two or three tule mats. That made a nice mattress. 159
513

For bed covers we used lots of things. The best bed cover was rabbit skin blankets. They were soft and warm. Nearly everybody had one or two. They were about as big as the blankets you white people use. We made the rabbit skin blankets out of strips of skin. When we took the skin off of the rabbit we cut it around and around in a long strip. We twisted it so all of the fur was on the outside. We twisted the rabbit skin strips into a double string as long as we wanted the blanket. Then we sewed it back and forth from one end to the other until it was a big blanket. We made blankets the same way of mud hen skins. [237] 159
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281

We had elk and deer skins on our beds, too. Some people had bear skins, too, for bed covers. But not many had that. I knew an Indian doctor who had a mountain lion skin on his bed. He bought it from a *Wukchumne* Indian from Lemon Cove. 159
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237
[437]

The old-time Indian men wore a deer skin breech-clout called *trak'-keet nu-nun'-hoey*. It was held up by a narrow deer-skin belt called *wuk'-suk* (string). A little piece of the breech clout hung down like an apron in front. Some of the men painted colored pictures on it. I only saw one or two of the old-time breech clouts. That was when I was a little girl. After that the Indians all wore old underwear or a piece of old cloth for a breech clout. 159
231
[53]

The Indian women wore a small skirt. It was made in two pieces. They had a small apron in front and a larger one behind. They were held up by a string like a belt. It tied at the side. We called the woman's skirt *ak'-til ra'-es*. It was generally made of the inside bark of cottonwood, or of tule. Some times they used strings of twisted rabbit, or mud hen skin. They liked the twisted rabbit skin skirts best.

The Chunut and Wowol women wore a cape, too. It was made of twisted rabbit skin, or mud-hen skin strings like a small blanket. They used the wing feather of a goose to pin the cape in place. [237]

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929

NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

1929]

Gayton: Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making

241

In the present instance the clay was obtained from a depression in an oak-covered meadow, which was saturated by seepage and which drained the near-by area. A digging stick was used to open up the ground and loosen it sufficiently for the potter to lift or pull out handfuls of the soil. She worked at a little ledge which permitted her to get at the earth some eighteen inches below the surface. At this level the soil carried a heavy admixture of sand. Proceeding downward the amount of sand grew less, and the potter began testing the viscosity of the soil by squeezing a lump in her hand. Finally, about two feet below the surface, she reached a pure clay with a slight admixture of sand which proved to be of satisfactory quality. The sand that came with the clay acted as tempering material. All informants agreed that binding material was rarely added: it was usually a matter of getting clay without too much sand and removing bits of rock, as in the present case. Occasionally sand was added, but no other tempering material was known.

The potter took out as much clay as she could carry. The amount manufactured six pots and two pipes (pl. 102), and a seventh small pot. In former times the clay was wrapped in an old deer skin and carried home in a carrying net.

Preparation of all clay consisted of kneading and pounding the material. This was done on a broad, flat portion of a bedrock mortar. Clay was never put in mortar holes in which food substances were ground. Before starting the potter selected a short, broad, roughly rectangular pestle for pounding the clay. (Other pestles, and the openings of food mortars, appear in the background of pl. 95a; the typical triangular food pestle is seen just beyond the basket in pl. 95b). Half the entire quantity of clay was put on the rock and pressed with the hands into a solid lump. The potter sat cross-legged before it, and picking it up and lifting it to shoulder level, beat it down upon the rock. This she continued for about ten minutes, turning the lump in her hands as she worked. The process solidified the mass of clay. The pestle was then taken up and pounded into the clay. This stage of the clay-working is shown in plate 95a. The flattened mass of material was continually turned inward at the edges. About ten minutes of pounding brought the clay into a highly viscous condition, so that the heavy substance adhered to the pestle and partly lifted off the mortar rock at the beginning of each upward stroke. The potter occasionally tested the condition of the clay by rolling out between her hands a rope of clay such as the vessels are built from (pl. 95c).

Y

W

317
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[412]

Y

W

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[412]

595 While polygamy occurred among Yokuts and Western Mono it was
 622 not frequent. The chief was more likely than other men to have two
 wives. This was partly because of his wealth which permitted him to
 pay for and support them, and also because of the more numerous
 household duties in his menage. The chief's wives must have food
 [574] ready for immediate preparation at all times because of the hospitality
 extended to visitors in the tribe; they cared for the poor of their
 village, and at the same time entertained socially in a more lavish
 manner than other families.

556 In monetary wealth the chief always surpassed his fellow-citizens.
 622 The manner in which his worldly goods were acquired is not com-
 pletely clear but there are several known sources. One of these was
 [439] through commercial trading of desirable objects such as eagle down,
 and of articles traded with trans-Sierra Mono, or between local tribes.
 [778] The commerce in eagle down was controlled by the chief as the bird
 was sacred to him and could not be killed without his permission. On
 this matter a Wukchumni (Y) informant gave the following:²²

622 Only a chief could order an eagle killed. He paid the man who
 237 killed it three to five dollars for the bird. Some man or woman was
 778 then asked to prepare the bird; they were paid for their trouble. The
 439 large feathers were plucked off. The skin was removed with the down
 still on it. The leg bones were kept for making whistles. The meat
 was removed but only the fat saved for tallow salve. The feathers,
 down, leg bones, and tallow were kept by the chief, and these he
 sold to doctors or any other persons who wanted them for religious
 or ceremonial purposes. The carcass was given a special ritualistic
 burial, at which a mournful attitude prevailed.

622 This trade in eagle products brought some profit to the chief. The
 237 demand for eagle down was constant as it was used by the majority
 556 of people for religious purposes such as scattering during prayer, and
 [755] to make ropes of down which had power in curing sickness. Such
 ropes were used by non-professional persons who had supernatural
 power as well as by doctors.

622 Further profit came to the chief through intertribal commerce.
 439 Traders who came from other tribes with baskets, pottery, salt, tanned
 556 skins, etc., would first go to the chief's house to state their business,
 as was customary with all outsiders, and to receive the welcoming
 meal. Hence the chief had first chance to buy the wares they brought
 and retail them to his neighbors if he so wished. As a man of wealth

²² Sam Garfield; see Appendix.

MAKING RAIN--MANUFACTURE OF BOWS.

373

liberally of their substance. But he was yet an unknown prophet. They were incredulous, and mostly laughed him to scorn, whereupon he would leave the village in high dudgeon, denouncing war upon their heads, and threatening them with a continuance of the drought another year far worse than before. Sure enough, the enraged Hopodno brought drought a second year, and the Indians were smitten with remorse and terror, believing him endowed with supert human power; and when next year he made a second pilgrimage, offerings were showered upon him in abundance, and men heard him with trembling. He compelled them to pay him fifty cents apiece, American money, and many gladly gave much more. And he made rain. [791] [484] [189]

As to their implements and weapons, there are some interesting particulars to be noted. Here, as everywhere on the Sacramento and Joaquin plains, the Indians make no bows, but purchase them all from the mountaineers. This is because they have no cedar. This wood is extremely brittle when dry, and is then the poorest possible material for bows; but by anointing it every day with deer's marrow while it is drying the Indian overcomes this quality and renders it the best. The bow is taken from the white or sap wood, the outside of the tree being also the outside of the bow. It is scraped and polished down with wonderful painstaking, so that it may bend evenly, and the ends are generally carved so as to point back slightly. Then the Indian takes a quantity of deer's sinew, splits it up with flint into small fibers, and glues them on the outside or flat back of the weapon until it becomes semi-cylindrical in shape. These strings of sinew, being lapped around the end of the bow and doubled back a little way, impart to it its wonderful strength and elasticity. The glue is made by boiling the joints of various animals and combining the product with pitch. [411] [237] [322]

I saw a bow thus carefully made in the hands of an aged chief, and it was truly a magnificent weapon. It was about five feet long, smooth and shining—for when it becomes a little soiled the fastidious savage scrapes it slightly with flint, then anoints it afresh with marrow—and of such great strength that it would require a giant to bend it in battle. For lack of skins the owner carried it in a calico case. The string, composed of twisted sinew, was probably equal in strength to a sea-grass rope of three times its

diameter. [391] [283]

SOME MANUFACTURES.

375

324 inchoate arrow-head is laid on this pad along the thick of the thumb, the
 411 points of the fingers pressing it firmly down. The instrument used to
 shape the stone is the end of a deer's antler, from four to six inches in
 [237] length, held in the right hand. The small round point of this is judiciously
 pressed upon the edge of the stone, cleaving it away underward in small
 scales. The buckskin, of course, is to prevent the flesh from being
 wounded by the sharp scales. The arrow-head is frequently turned around
 and over to cleave away as much from one side as the other, and to give it
 the desired size and shape. It is a work of no little care and skill to make
 even so rude an instrument as an arrow-head seems to be, only the most
 [287] expert being very successful at the business. Old men are usually seen at
 this employment."

Mr. B. P. Avery, in an article entitled "Chips from an Indian Work-
 shop", published in the same magazine, gives a very pleasant account of a
 visit made by him, near the summit of the Sierra, to what had evidently
 been the spots selected by the aborigines for the manufacture of these
 arrow-heads. They were generally so chosen as to show that the Indians
 had an eye for the picturesque and the romantic, on bold, overlooking
 promontories, commanding prospects far and wide down the mountain slope
 and over the plains; and the brilliant-colored chips of obsidian, jasper,
 chert, cornelian, and other flints, lying in piles, completed a very pleasing
 picture.

291 Most California Indians go now, and always have gone, barefoot; but
 some few were industrious enough to make for themselves moccasins of a
 very rude sort, more properly sandals. Their method of tanning was by
 281 means of brain-water. They dried the brains of deer and other animals,
 reduced it to powder, put the powder into water, and soaked the skins
 [237] therein—a process which answered tolerably well. The graining was done
 291 with flints. Elk-hide, being very thick, make the best sandals.

436 The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching
 from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents.
 A section of bone, very white and polished, about two and a half
 inches long, is sometimes strung on the string, and rates at 12½ cents.
 They uniformly undervalue articles bought from the Americans; for

BOATS, MORTARS, AND BASKETS—GAMBLING.

377

226 long, in which they cruise timidly about near the shore. There is a margin where the bottom is almost level and the waves run light; but the middle of the lake is of immense depth, and the billows sometimes lash themselves into oceanic proportions.

172
412 Around the lake and on King's River one will often find a family using a tolerably well-made stone mortar. They always admit that they did not manufacture these implements, but happened on them in digging or found them on the surface, and that they belonged to a race other than their own. They sometimes have the ingenuity to improve on them by fastening a basket-hopper around the top to prevent the acorns from flying out. On the west side of Tulare Lake these mortars are very numerous, and of course they must have been carried thither from the mountains.

235 On Tule River I saw the process of basket-weaving. Instead of willow twigs for the framework or warp, the squaw takes long stalks of grass, (*Sporobolus*); and for the threads or the woof various barks or roots split fine—pine root for a white color, willow bark for a brown, and some unknown bark for a black. The process of weaving is like that heretofore described;

• [237] the awl or needle was the sharpened thigh-bone of a hawk.

525 The Gualala style of gambling prevails all over the State, but the Yokuts have another sort, which pertains exclusively to the women. It is a kind of dice-throwing, and is called *u-chu'-us*. For a dice they take half of a large acorn or walnut shell, fill it level with pitch and pounded charcoal, and inlay it with bits of bright-colored abalone shells. For a dice-table they weave a very large, fine basket-tray, almost flat, and ornamented with devices woven in black or brown, mostly rude imitations of trees and geometrical figures. Four squaws sit around it to play, and a fifth keeps tally with fifteen sticks. There are eight dice, and they scoop them up in their hands and dash them into the basket, counting one when two or five flat surfaces turn up.

525
717 The rapidity with which the game goes forward is wonderful, and the players seem totally oblivious to all things in the world beside. After each throw that a player makes she exclaims *yel'-ni* (equivalent to "one-y"), or *wi-a-tak*, or *ko-mai-ch*, which are simply a kind of sing-song or chanting. One old squaw, with scarcely a tooth in her head, one eye gone, her face

388

THE YOKUTS.

769

[30]

had toiled for months, perhaps for years, circled and furred with hundreds of little quail-plumes, bespangled, scalloped, festooned, and embroidered with beadery until there was scarcely place for the handling; plumes, shawls, etc. Kolomusnim had a pretty plume of metallic-glistening ravens' feathers in his hand. But the most remarkable article was a great plume, nearly six feet long, shaped like a parasol slightly opened, mostly of ravens' feathers, but containing rare and brilliant plumage from many birds of the forest, topped with a smaller plume or kind of coronet, and lavishly bedecked through all its length with bulbs, shell-clusters, circlets of feathers, dangling festoons—a magnificent bauble, towering far above all, with its glittering spangles and nodding plume on plume contrasting so strangely with the tattered and howling savages over whom it gorgeously swayed and flaunted.

[532]

Another woman had an image, rudely constructed of shawls and clothing, to represent the dead woman, sister to Kolomusnim.

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The beholding of all these things, some of which had belonged to the departed, and the strong contagion of human sorrow, wrought the Indians into a frenzy. Wildly they leaped and wailed; some flung themselves upon the earth and beat their breasts. There were constant exhortations to grief. Sloknich, sitting on the ground, poured forth burning and piercing words: "We have all one heart. All our hearts bleed with yours. Our eyes weep tears like a living spring. O, think of the poor, dead woman in the grave." Kolomusnim, a savage of a majestic presence, bating his garb, though a hesitating orator, was so broken with grief that his few sobbing words moved the listeners like a funeral knell. Beholding now and then a special friend in the circle, he would run and fall upon his knees before him, bow down his head to the earth, and give way to uncontrollable sorrow. Others of the mourners would do the same, presenting to the friend's gaze some object which had belonged to the lamented woman. The friend, if a man, would pour forth long condolences; if a woman, she would receive the mourner's head in her hands, tenderly stroke down her hair, and unite her tears and lamentations with her's. Many an eye, both of men and women, both of mourners and strangers, glistened in the flickering fire-light with copious and genuine tears.